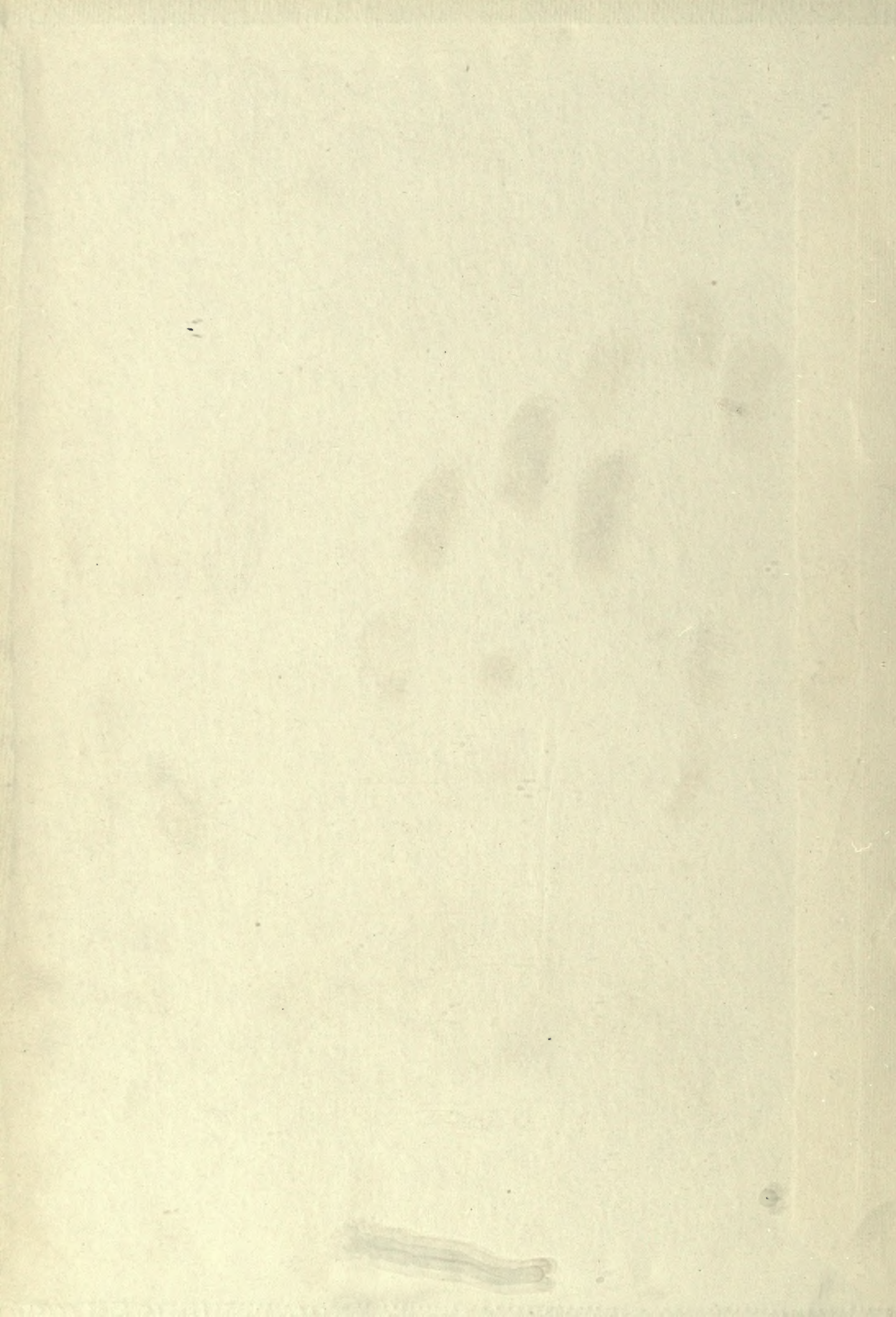


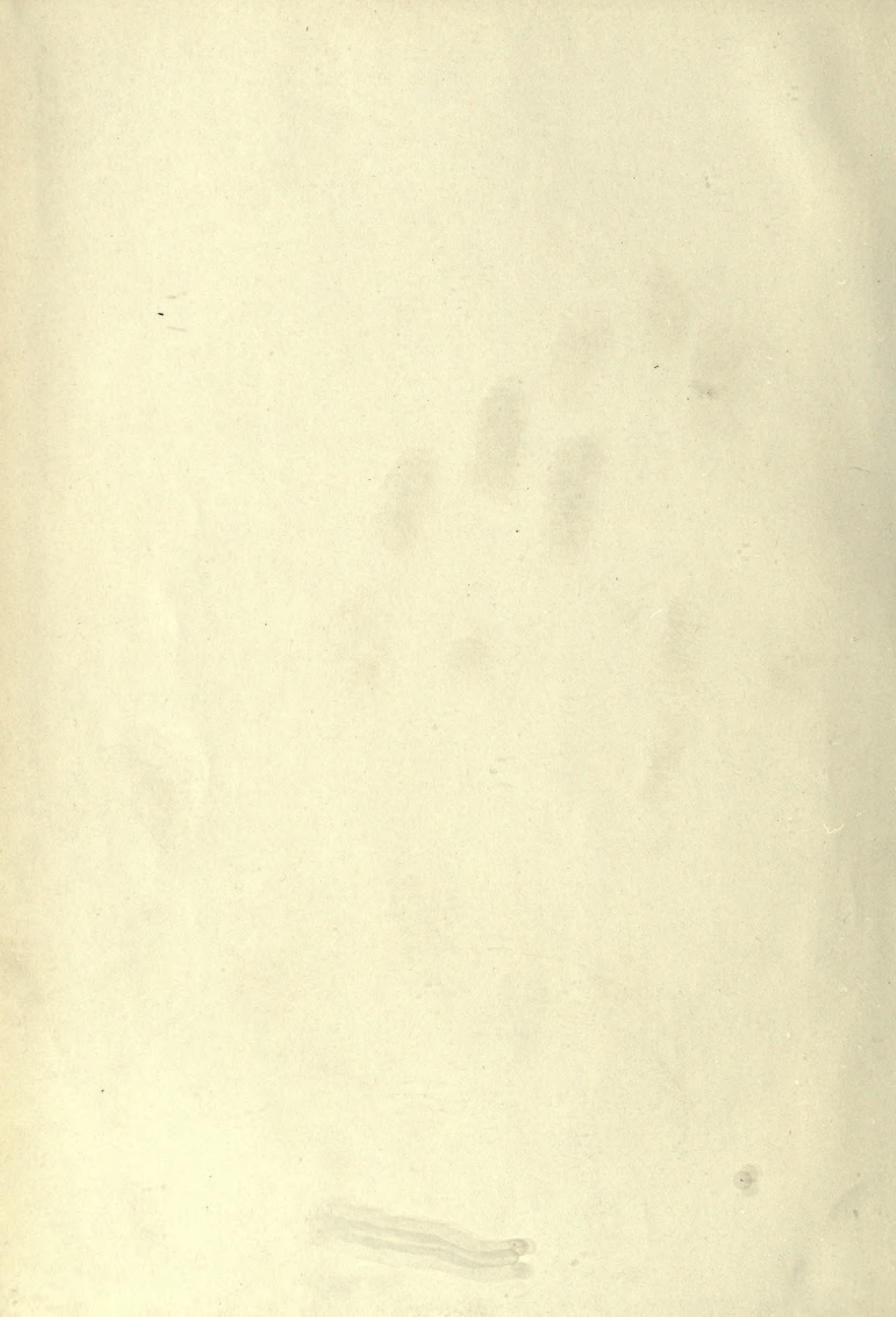
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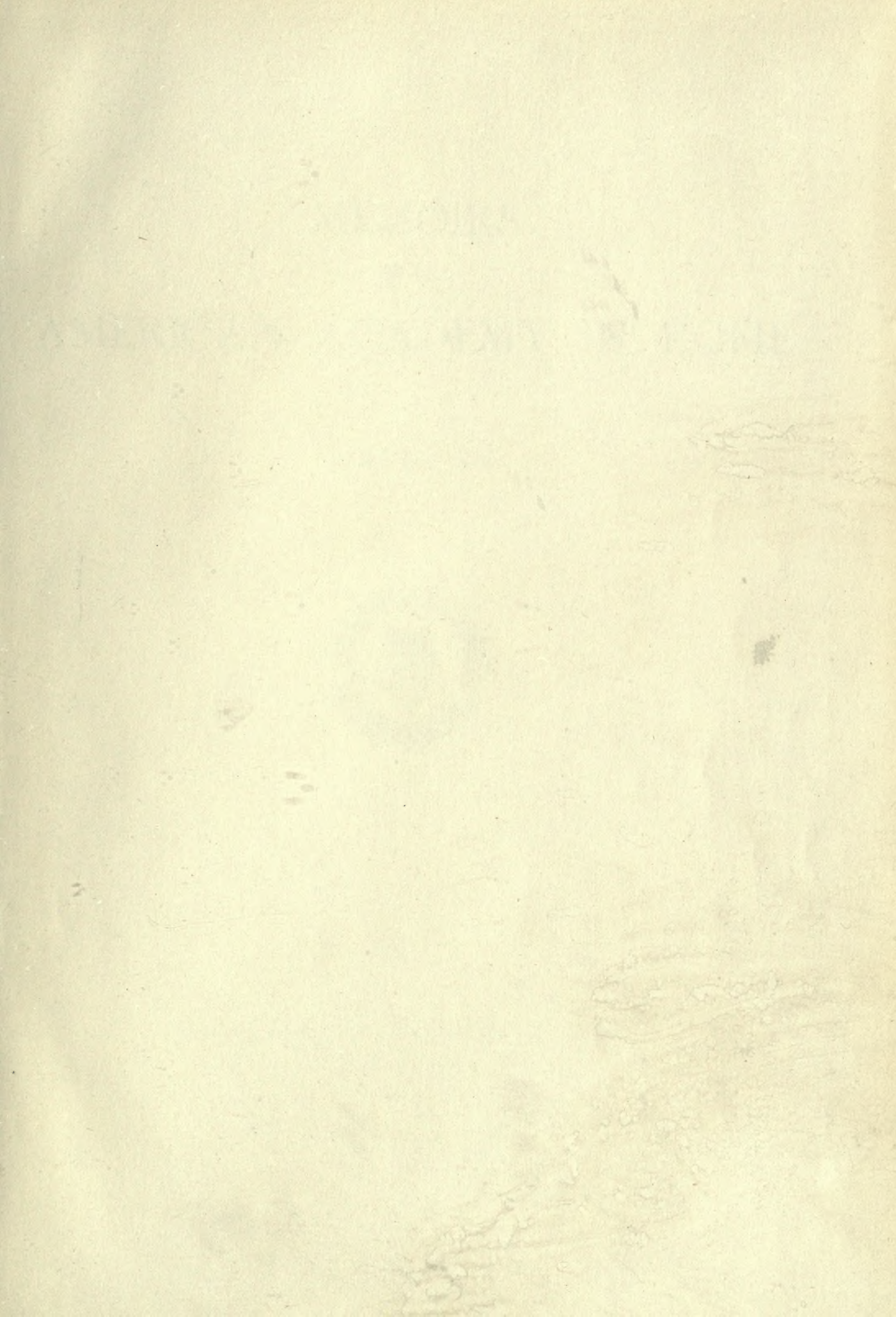


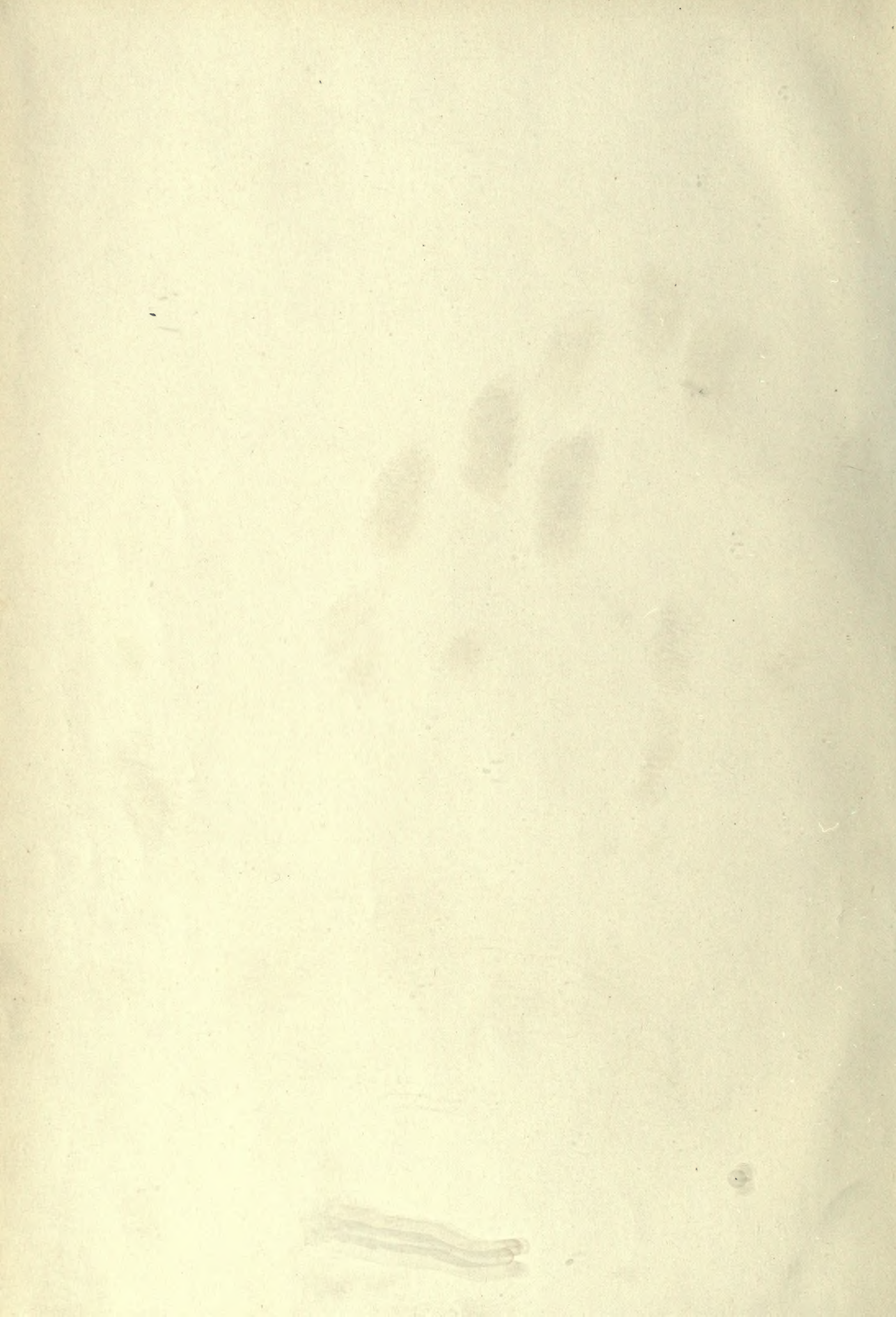
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PROLEGOMENA TO A BOOK  
ON ROMAN ART

BY

OTTO J. BRENDL



## PROLEGOMENA TO A BOOK ON ROMAN ART

### THE PROBLEM OF ROMAN ART

History has imparted a curious double meaning to the words "Rome" and "Roman." If we say "Rome," we refer at the same time to a city and a state. The city lies within geographically well defined boundaries, between the Alban hills and the mouth of the Tiber in central Italy. The state grew far beyond these limits and eventually became the Roman empire. The city of Rome still exists. The Roman state on the other hand belongs to the past, so that we have become accustomed to speak of the Roman empire as an historical period. Yet all these complex facts, the city and the state, the empire and its time in history, we call by the same name, "Roman." Our very language becomes a potential source of confusion with regard to everything Roman, and from this condition art is not exempt.

The salient point is that all accomplishments to which Rome lent its name are not "Roman" in the same sense nor to the same degree. For instance, "Roman history" traditionally comprises the total evolution of the Roman state from its origin to the end of the empire and consequently much more than a mere city history of Rome, while the medieval and later affairs of the city are not usually included in this term. Roman law was eventually collected and codified at the behest of a Byzantine emperor, Justinian; yet it is "Roman." The ancient bridges and aqueducts of Spain or southern France were built under the Empire, though probably not by natives of Rome only, nor can it be asserted that the technical knowledge employed in these structures was allowed to Romans. Yet to us these buildings constitute monuments of Roman enterprise and engineering. On the other hand, rather paradoxically, the most intimate and direct expression of the Roman spirit, its language, was never called "Roman." It is "Latin." Thus the credit for this accomplishment is given not to Rome but to a regional civilization, now extinct, of which Rome once formed a part.

We must understand from the outset that the same uncertainty is bound to reappear in the study of Roman art. It has indeed determined the course of these studies, especially in their latest stage during the past fifty years. The name itself, "Roman art," requires explanation. What do we really mean by

this expression? Conceivably we may so designate the art of the city of Rome in the same sense as one speaks of "Roman" Baroque. But we may also with the same expression refer to the art of the Empire and call "Roman" all works of art produced during the imperial epoch anywhere. Again, the attribute "Roman" may be limited to such works of art as were produced by Romans only, not by Greeks working in Rome or under the Empire, or a certain type of art may be defined as stylistically "Roman," as another type is "Gothic," regardless of its place and time of origin. The problem is inherent in all investigations stipulating or negating the existence of a "Roman" art as the case may be. Yet few writers have stated this expressly. Alois Riegl, for one, perceived the necessity of explaining the term "Roman" in the title of his *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*. He declares in the introduction: "In selecting the word 'Roman' instead of 'antique,' I had in mind the entire Roman empire but not – as I wish to emphasize strongly from the outset – the city of Rome or the Italic people or the nations of the western half of the empire only."<sup>1</sup> This, of course, represents only the deliberate choice of a single writer; other definitions are just as possible.

Three characteristic problems arise from the peculiar conditions of Roman art. One regards its *esthetic evaluation*, which has proved remarkably uncertain almost from the beginning; the second its *historical development*, about which very little authentic documentary evidence has come down to us. Obviously, moreover, by modern standards, in order to deal with either one of these questions, we must first decide what to call "Roman." Both involve the initial, *terminological* difficulty. Past experience has amply shown that these three questions are closely connected with each other. Together they form the "Roman problem" in the modern literature on art.

All three loom large in the recent discussions of ancient art. They have stimulated factual research and theoretical thought alike. Some of the most brilliant recent contributions to art historical method and the critical analysis of art have been dedicated to the Roman problem. Indeed, this controversy represents a characteristically modern interest, as one can sense from its growing intensity. Roman art, now more than ever, constitutes a controversial matter. We still have no real mastery of all the seemingly disparate and often unco-ordinated materials which claim our attention as "Roman art." We lack ascertained facts, and we also lack adequate critical tools to deal with the variety of these materials. It has proven especially difficult to evolve those generally valid, comprehensive principles, which seem required in order to separate effectively all works of Roman art from the other arts with which they are so closely allied, the Etruscan and the Greek.

<sup>1</sup> A. Riegl, *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (Vienna 1901) 10. (Author's translation).

Numerous factual discoveries mark the progress of knowledge through the past hundred years of archaeological research. Roman art has had its share of these discoveries; nevertheless, the recent discussions in this field have probably made their greatest contribution by bringing into focus the general problem of Roman art. As to the answers suggested, no agreement is yet in sight. At least it is evident today that one cannot write a history of Roman art, as one can set out to write a history of Egyptian or Greek art, by starting from a recognized, coherent body of works of art, which present an obvious unity of style, of intentions and of means of expression. The terms "Egyptian," "Greek" have an established meaning in the field of art; the meaning of the word "Roman" cannot so be taken for granted. The unity of Roman art is not obvious as a style or approach to artistic representation, like the Egyptian style. If a similar inner coherence existed at all in Roman art connecting its various manifestations, it must still be uncovered in the diversity before us. The decision is mostly up to the modern student, as to what to call "Roman" and why, and the burden of proof rests on the critic. A history of Roman art cannot merely present and explain; it must first define its subject matter.

In this respect the case of Rome is not unique in the history of art. Critics of "Renaissance" art likewise must define the term "Renaissance" and demonstrate its usefulness as an historical category, before they can deal with the various productions of this period as a closed group. Their task may be less difficult than the problems presented by Roman art, insofar as the nucleus of Renaissance art, in Italy at least, defines itself well by way of its style and intellectual climate. Questions arise, however, as to the limits of the category. Shall we say that Renaissance art begins with Giotto or Masaccio? Is it a purely Italian movement or are we justified in speaking of a "Northern Renaissance"? What modifications are needed to impart to the latter term a meaning consistent with reality? The answer to these questions is not self-evident; they require clarification. Similar questions are in place, and even more pressing, with regard to Baroque art. Where does it begin? Where are its limits? What, in fact, is "Baroque," an historical period or merely a trend within an historical period, the seventeenth century? Such questions are not unlike those which Roman art puts before us. The term "modern art" is similarly ill defined and in need of discussion, in spite of the fact that its object forms a part of our contemporary existence. Not all contemporary art is "modern." In each of these instances the validity of a critical or historiographic category must first be proven, and its precise limitations defined before actual materials can be ascribed to it. We must draw the line between that which is or is not "modern" or "baroque" in art. So we must decide what we wish to call "Roman." The distinction expresses our own critical evaluation of a work of art. Additional examples are not hard to find in the history of art.

Still, however, the puzzle of Roman art would remain. For one thing, most of the arguable, critical classifications of the kind just mentioned result from conditions typical of the post-classical periods, Medieval or later. In these periods it surprises us less that artists choose freely between various modes of expression. In ancient art we are accustomed to find the distinctions much more sharply drawn – more objectively, it would seem. The style of Egyptian paintings or statues, for instance, is highly characteristic. It is easily recognized, because its approach to artistic representation is permanent as to fundamental principles and exclusive of all other ancient styles. As a rule there can be little doubt whether or not a work of art is Egyptian. Greek art, similarly, in review exhibits a distinctive and self-contained character, in spite of the evolutionary energy which led it through so many different phases from the archaic to the Hellenistic. Yet even in antiquity instances occur which may cast a doubt on the certainty with which we use these historical categories. Greek artists worked for Persians. Shall we call the results Greek or Persian art? Intermediary arts existed between the great styles of Egypt, the Near East and early Greece, like the art of the Phoenicians. Such “mixed” styles are now commonly treated with disrespect, as lacking in originality. But they, too, had their share in the growth and expansion of our civilization. An objective evaluation of the archaic Phoenician style has yet to be given.

However, all these were but minor incidents in the early history of Mediterranean culture. What makes the case of Roman art so baffling is the fact that in this one instance we are confronted with a main branch of ancient art, of long tradition and extraordinary productivity, yet surprisingly deficient in those exclusive, constant and definite stylistic traits, which differentiate most other ancient arts from each other like so many different languages. Moreover the Roman accomplishments in other fields are both distinctive and outstanding. One expects to find a Roman art comparable in importance to the Roman military achievements or government administration, which built the famous Empire, or to the classical Latin literature which infused the political structure with a spiritual meaning of its own. Instead, one finds an art of quite uneven tendencies, uncertain in origin, oscillating between a “neo-classic” acceptance of Greek standards and an often crude “popular” realism, and eventually issuing in the seemingly “anti-classic,” formal rigidity of the late Roman style.

The dilemma is critical as well as historical. When modern criticism wishes to do justice to a display of art so contrary to modern expectations, it is first of all confronted with the problem of *esthetic evaluation*. But this cannot long be separated from the *historical problem* of evolution. Therefore, to reconstruct the evolution of Roman art as a process in history has long been, and still is, a pressing task. And this task, in turn, leads to the problem of definition, as

explained above. We must define what we mean by "Roman art." This is the *terminological problem*. Recent criticism has tended to concentrate especially on the question what, precisely, is Roman in Roman art.

#### THE HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

One must know these three aspects of the problem – the *esthetic*, the *historical*, and the *terminological* – in order to understand the modern literature on Roman art. All three undoubtedly derive from the real conditions of Roman art. Yet only gradually have modern students and critics become aware of these conditions. Each one of these questions, though inherent in the material, moved at one time within sight of modern criticism, and upon its discovery gave rise to a fresh approach to Roman art. Thus the *historical* problem of Roman art was first formulated during the Renaissance; the *esthetic* evaluation became problematic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and the *terminological* definition of a Roman style concerns the most recent research. These changes of viewpoint each time accompanied an increase of factual knowledge and a more direct contact with the original materials. They are also symptomatic of other more general changes in European thought. In this, as in other fields, it appears that discoveries are not made at random but when the time has come for them. Through the past centuries the varying reactions to Roman art have faithfully followed not only the dominating preferences of taste but the development of ideas in general. In this way, from time to time, by the intuition of one writer or the efforts of a whole group of scholars, the entire problem has been re-formulated and re-cast in a radical manner. Whenever this has happened, the result has been a new theory of Roman art. In what follows we shall briefly record the decisive steps in this sequence of theoretical approaches from the fifteenth century onwards. The fundamental ideas incorporated in the earlier approaches are not as yet extinct, nor is their usefulness exhausted by the observation that some theories owe their origin and impact to intellectual constellations different from the present.

#### THE RENAISSANCE

Two peculiarities seem especially remarkable in the attitude of Renaissance theorists towards Roman art. One is the absence of an effective distinction between Greek and Roman. To the generations who first began to form the concepts of our history of art during the 15th century classical antiquity appeared as a continuous whole. As such, the "ancient manner" was *toto genere* opposed to the "modern." Thus one reads in Ghiberti's second "commentary" that

ancient art ended under Constantine. For 600 years after this event no images were permitted, and the knowledge of art fell into oblivion. After this long interval the "Greeks" – that is to say the Byzantine revival in Tuscany – made the first feeble attempts at creating anew the art of painting. For the art which then began the term "modern" came in use soon after Ghiberti.<sup>2</sup>

One deals here with a fundamental concept of criticism. Its basis is a distinction, not between two equivalent styles, but between an earlier, better art (the "ancient") and an "uncouth" recent art (the Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine). One will notice, however, that with this art-critical contrast an historical concept is closely allied, the idea of a decline of the arts. This is the second point which requires our attention.

Complaints about an alleged decline of the arts are not uncommon in certain Latin authors widely read in the Renaissance, such as Pliny, Vitruvius and others.<sup>3</sup> The innovation of the Renaissance lies in the fact that the esthetic belief in a decline of art has been incorporated in a full fledged historical theory, as we find it in Ghiberti. This is not true of the Latin writers on art. The brief passage in Ghiberti is significant, because it contains the nucleus of a consistent *history* of art with a division into three main epochs: the ancient, the intermediary (our "middle" or "dark" ages), and the new primitivism (neo-Byzantine), from which Giotto was first to liberate the arts. Critically, the ancient period is regarded with admiration, the second as a mere vacuum and the third as an archaic stage eventually overcome (by Giotto).

This critico-historical scheme remained in force throughout the Renaissance, and is even now not entirely invalidated. Our own concept of the "Renaissance" was fashioned according to this pattern. This is not to say that the scheme is without foundation in reality, defective though it be with regard to details. The matter cannot be further discussed in the present article, where we must concentrate attention on the influence which this example had on later histories of Roman art. The important point is that we deal with a theory which in

<sup>2</sup> *Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwürdigkeiten (i commentarii)*, ed. J. von Schlosser (Berlin 1912) I, 35. Cf. von Schlosser's explanation of this important passage, written between 1447 and 1450, *ibid.*, II, 108. Ghiberti merely applied to art the general tenor of the Renaissance, which emphasized the contrast between ancient and modern [medieval] modes, of life and learning. Medieval learning instead was permeated with a feeling of historical continuity. Only the Renaissance sought to "revive" something which in the meantime had been lost, be it the classical humanism of Cicero or the classical Latin of the Augustan era. This was the original attitude of Petrarch. Cf. L. Olschki, *The Genius of Italy* (New York 1949) 208: "In many letters and poetic allusions Petrarch elaborated the contrast rather than the affinity between his age and the ancient world. He ignored whatever had happened between the end of the Roman empire and his own time. In that development he saw only abuses, barbarism, and errors...".

<sup>3</sup> V. *infra*, 52 ff.

historical terms stipulates a decline of the arts. The next question is unavoidable: where, when and why did this "decline" actually occur? Ghiberti presents the Renaissance answer to this question: the decline of the arts occurred after – not during or before – the Roman period, in the "dark ages."<sup>4</sup> Others later asked the same question but gave different answers.

During the Renaissance, however, the state of this problem remained rather constant. Antiquity was generally an indivisible entity, of which "Greek" and "Roman" were only two different aspects or subsequent phases. The downfall of the arts, or of all higher culture, came with the end of antiquity. "Greek" and "Roman" together formed the classical age. What mattered was not the differentiation between these two phases of antiquity but the greater contrast between "ancient" and "modern." Because of this consistent if simplified view, there could be little doubt about the esthetic evaluation of Roman art. The prestige of Roman art was high, simply as a part of the general reaction against the nonclassical "modern" arts, Byzantine and Medieval.

A succinct summary of this situation is found in Vasari, who in purely theoretical fashion assumed a constant progress of the arts from the beginning to the end of antiquity. "The Romans may truly be said to have gathered the best qualities of all other methods and united them in their own, to the end that this (sc. the Roman 'manner' or style) might be superior to all, nay, absolutely divine, as it is." (Biography of Andrea Pisano). In the same passage he gives a hint for the first time of the problem awaiting the future historians of Roman art. For in writing these sentences, Vasari felt compelled to qualify his own use of the term "Roman" by stating: "I call those Romans, who, after the subjugation of Greece, repaired to Rome, whither all that was good and beautiful in the whole world was then transported."<sup>5</sup>

#### THE THEORY OF GROWTH AND DECAY

Only when Roman art was viewed in contrast rather than unity with the Greek, did its esthetic evaluation become problematic. Practical acquaintance with its productions could not fail to disclose this contrast, nor could the contrast

<sup>4</sup> That this was the common opinion can be seen from the somewhat later treatise on architecture by Filarete, completed in 1464; v. A. A. *Filarete's Tractat über die Baukunst*, ed. W. von Oettingen (Vienna 1896) 2. Filarete explains the decline of architecture in some detail as a consequence of a general decline of education (the "dark ages") plus the – unfortunate – influence of the "modern" (that is, Gothic) style of central and western Europe (French and German); *op. cit.*, 428 f. This is much the same thought as in Ghiberti, although Filarete dates the beginning of the Renaissance (as we call it) later than Ghiberti, around 1400; *ibid.*, 428. In other words, no sooner was the concept of "decline" generally accepted, than its specific application to history proved an arguable point.

<sup>5</sup> For the entire passage, cf. E. H. and E. W. Blashfield and A. A. Hopkins, *Lives of Seventy of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, by Giorgio Vasari, I (London 1907) 82 f., from which the above translation was quoted.

between early and late Imperial art be long disregarded.<sup>6</sup> Even before such acquaintance could be based on sufficient data and materials for comparison, it was possible to anticipate the necessity of a distinction between Greek and Roman. Greece was the older culture, Rome only the follower. Though both "classical," they were not necessarily equivalent. The relation between them, once formulated, became an open question.

-We find an early and telling symptom of this impending change of attitude in a letter by La Teulière, until 1699 director of the French Academy in Rome. This institution was expressly dedicated to the study and copying of works of art in Rome. However, as early as 1696 La Teulière suggested that a similar school be opened in Athens, giving the following reason: "As the fine arts came to Italy from Greece, one would then (sc. if an academy were instituted in Athens) see things at their origin; this being true of both architecture and sculpture, of which beautiful remains are still there according to what people say, especially bas-reliefs, etc." <sup>7</sup> Here Roman art, far from being "superior to all", as it seemed to Vasari, holds no more than the second place after the Greek. The trend is essentially unfavorable to Roman art, as its subsequent record has amply shown.

This view, more recent than the one which it opposes, took some time to develop. The interest in antiquity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries concentrated primarily on those voluminous publications of ancient monuments with engraved illustrations, which on a truly encyclopedic scale for the first time demonstrated the wealth and variety of the extant remains. Collected with a scholarly zeal for compilation and information, though frequently without adequate critical sense, these materials with all their errors and falsehoods offered a lasting stimulus to research and a challenge to the critical genius of generations to come. Because of their richness of content and a certain flair for the uncommon and bizarre, these books are still profitable to consult. In 1749 excavations started at Herculaneum, adding new discoveries to the materials already known. These too were soon made available by way of a generous publication.<sup>8</sup> All

<sup>6</sup> In the seventeenth century, as in the sixteenth, we find that professional criticism often dispenses with stylistic distinctions which we find *de rigueur* in Roman art. Cf. the anecdote which Bernini told about Michelangelo who, "at first seeing the Danae of Titian, exclaimed that had the Venetians only known how to draw, no one would look at the works of the Roman school; but that, on the other hand, it was only in Rome that they had such a model as the Trajan column"; E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture* (London and New York 1907) 3 f. Obviously to Michelangelo and Bernini the reliefs of the column of Trajan were simply examples of good design, that is valid without qualification of style, artistic medium, or content. The underlying theory still is the old, Renaissance view of an undivided "ancient manner" – beyond the distinction between Greek and Roman, or Roman classical and late Roman. For Renaissance drawings of the column of Trajan cf. R. Paribeni, "La colonna Trajana in un codice del Rinascimento", *Rivista dell'Istituto di Archeologia e storia dell'arte* 1 (1929) 9 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Translation by the author. The passage is rendered in full in H. Lapauze, *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome* I (Paris 1924) 85 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Delle antichità di Ercolano*, vols. 1-9 (Naples 1757-1831).

these scholarly activities effected a real progress in the assembling of ancient materials, but they contributed little to the critical problem of art proper.

Indeed theoretical discussions of art remained mostly beyond the scope of this literature, which was designed to provide factual information. It must not be assumed, however, that leading ideas were altogether lacking among the "antiquarians." An example of immediate interest may be cited from the most comprehensive, indeed encyclopedic, work of this class dealing with the religion and material culture of antiquity, de Montfaucon's "*L'antiquité expliquée*," published in 1719.<sup>9</sup> In the preface to Vol. I the range of the entire project is explained as follows: "This work comprises what has been called 'la belle antiquité' which, though badly shaken since the third century, is assumed to have definitely ended at the time of the younger Theodosius."<sup>10</sup> The definition of the late classical period – the period of decay – corresponds to the historical concept, which afterwards was so impressively set forth in Gibbon's "*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*."<sup>11</sup> It is essentially the Renaissance concept as we found it in Ghiberti. There is but one difference. Before the final downfall a period of decline is now recognized within the ancient period itself. This corresponds to our use of the term "late classical". However, one cannot help feeling that Montfaucon uses rather guarded language in introducing this topic. There is a reason. The concept "la belle antiquité," meaning the classical age, carries an esthetic connotation which he distrusts. He feels obliged subsequently to point out that to the following period of "barbarism" humanity owes a number of vital technical inventions like windmills, watermills and others unknown to "la belle antiquité."<sup>12</sup> Without examining the arguable details of this passage, we can accept it as an indication that the leading idea of Montfaucon was a general anthropology of the ancient world. From the viewpoint of a general anthropology one may indeed doubt that the idea of the "decaying" antiquity constitutes a useful historical term or even a usable division. The general civilization of western Europe remained in its "late-classical" stage much longer, perhaps until the 9th or 10th centuries. Here appears not only the difficulty of limiting the "classical" period towards its lower limit, the middle ages, but the concept of the "decline" itself as a complete disintegration of culture becomes questionable.

It is evident that all these various trends of thought are connected by one basic concept. Their determining idea was that common pattern of historiography, which we first recognized in the early Renaissance and whose unique effect on later art criticism now becomes quite apparent. We call it the theory of the growth and decay of cultures. In one way and another all the pros and contras here recorded refer to this basic idea. The same idea became the central concept of a book which here requires special attention, because it exercised a lasting, indeed determining, influence on all later criticism of Roman art, the "*History of the Art of Antiquity*," by J. J. Winckelmann.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> B. de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* . . . , 5 vols. in 10 (Paris 1719).

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, XIV.

<sup>11</sup> E. Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols. (London 1776-1788).

<sup>12</sup> Montfaucon, *op. cit.*, XV.

<sup>13</sup> J. J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden 1764).

Written and published in the atmosphere of eighteenth century modernism with its rapid increase of knowledge and rising controversies, this book owed its extraordinary success chiefly to the synoptic power of its author. Winckelmann fused the methods and viewpoints of several disciplines into one, thereby creating a new discipline, the history of art.<sup>14</sup> His first concern was with art criticism, in which field he believed he had a special message.<sup>15</sup> He was not an antiquarian, yet possessed the knowledge of one; he knew Greek as well as Latin, and, with a philologist's independence of judgment, schooled in textual criticism, he combined an original grasp of literature, especially Homer. With regard to general chronology and the style of individual works he was bound to err often, as indeed he did. Yet he established the development of classical art by gradual changes, and was able to indicate the chief periods of this process. His methodical aim was a concordance between literary evidence, dated monuments including coins, and the many undated relics of ancient art. He understood that a realistic examination of the monuments was required for this task, and spurned the theorists and desk-antiquarians who let themselves be deceived by faulty engravings and clever forgers. His literary style is informed with a personal, almost aggressive directness; his descriptions are enlivened by numerous original remarks and happy associations, constantly reminding the reader that every work of art is first of all an individual.<sup>16</sup> Yet all these varied intentions, ideas, investigations and observations had to be inscribed, as within a forming and determining contour, in a concept of history. This is what Winckelmann set out to achieve. He thought of history as a unifying principle by which the individual phenomena can be collected and arranged, "history" not understood as a mere sequence of events but as a systematic and intelligible order of related materials, a "Lehrgebäude." He explains his project thus in the preface:

"The history of art (sc. in antiquity) must teach us the origin, growth, change and decline of art together with the various styles of peoples, periods and artists, and it must prove these propositions, as far as possible, with the help of the remaining monuments of antiquity."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> A history of art existed in antiquity, as we know from extant fragments. It probably consisted of artists' biographies, similar to those of Ghiberti, Vasari and other Renaissance writers, but it was also concerned with the evolution of artistic theory. Cf. *infra*, ns. 111, 113. What Winckelmann had in mind was an entirely different idea, a history of styles. From the outset he contrasts his "history of art" with the earlier "histories of artists"; the latter are not his concern. V. preface, *J. J. Winckelmann's Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, ed. J. Lessing (Berlin 1870) 5. All following references to Winckelmann's "Geschichte etc.," are quoted from this edition, which is a reprint of the first edition of 1764. Translations by the author.

<sup>15</sup> Winckelmann was a relentless critic both of the naturalistic art theory of his time and the mannerisms of Baroque and Rococo art. For a preliminary synopsis of his theoretical views, v. G. Baumecker, *Winckelmann in seinen Dresdner Schriften* (Berlin 1933) esp. 105 ff.

<sup>16</sup> For a useful list of earlier literature and opinions about Winckelmann, v. *op. cit.*, 148 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Geschichte der Kunst*, 5.

Winckelmann's evaluation of Roman art must be understood against this background of ideas. In two respects, at least, it was negative. The first point concerns his concept of history. As an art critic, not unlike the Renaissance artists, Winckelmann was inclined to view classical art as a homogeneous unit in sharp contrast with the art around him, i. e. the late Baroque styles which he vehemently criticized. In comparison with works of this kind even the late examples of ancient art "to the downfall of art" seem praiseworthy.<sup>18</sup> This view he shared with others before and beside him.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Winckelmann formed a rather precise idea (or ideal) of the special qualities which in ancient art compared so favorably with the "modern." These qualities are not equally present in all ancient works. He was therefore led to give preference to the periods of ancient art in which these qualities, as he saw them, were most purely represented. In recognizing important qualitative differences between the various periods or styles of ancient art he was, moreover, supported by ancient writers, notably by Pliny. Thus Winckelmann's critical approach brought the inequality of the remaining works of ancient art to the fore and frequently gave it more importance than the common characteristics. The full strength of ancient art, the classical style proper, was now found restricted to a limited time within antiquity corresponding approximately to the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. In other words, Winckelmann saw the old theory of a growth and decline in the arts most strikingly confirmed by his own findings. But he gave to this theory a different emphasis. The decline of art so regarded began long before the end of the ancient period; it is an historical process within antiquity itself. In Winckelmann's history of art, the period of decline starts after the death of Alexander. All Hellenistic and especially Roman art according to this scheme belong to the declining stages of antiquity.

In the passage in which Winckelmann expounds this theory one finds a most interesting remark. The evolution of Greek art "especially sculpture" is divided into four periods of style, two of rising and two of declining tendency. This stated, Winckelmann continues: "The fate of art in modern times with regard to its periods equals that of antiquity; in it, likewise, four decisive changes have occurred . . ." <sup>20</sup> One sees how the historical concept has grown in Winckelmann's thought. In recognizing the parallelism between the ancient and the post-classical history of art he anticipates far more modern concepts, such as the "Cycles of Taste," to use a contemporary formula.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> "About the Good Taste, Preserved even during the Decline of Art." (Chapter heading in *Geschichte der Kunst*, 164).

<sup>19</sup> V. *supra*, Ghiberti and others. As to Winckelmann's contemporaries, cf. G. Baumecker, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 15) esp. 57 ff., regarding the "simplicity" of ancient art.

<sup>20</sup> *Geschichte der Kunst*, 165. The section dealing with "The Growth and Decline of Greek Art," likewise starts with an explanation of the four periods, *op. cit.*, 144 ff.

<sup>21</sup> F. P. Chambers, *The History of Taste. An Account of the Revolutions of Art Criticism and Theory in Europe* (New York 1932).

With Winckelmann the modern stage of the obvious trend toward a systematization of history comes within sight. It should be noted, however, that Winckelmann wanted no more than to state an observation. There is no indication that for him this parallel between ancient and post-classical evolution also implied a lawful sequence (as in Wölfflin) or a biological necessity (as in Spengler).<sup>22</sup>

The second point to be stressed here regards the question, likewise discussed by Winckelmann, whether or not a specifically Roman style can be identified in art. Winckelmann gave a negative answer: there is no specific Roman style. Likè the Renaissance he viewed classical art as a continuous evolutionary process and saw no grounds for a differentiation between a Greek and a Roman style.<sup>22</sup>

It seems that in Winckelmann's historical scheme Roman art of the empire generally coincides with his assumed fourth period, called "the style of the imitators and the decline and downfall of art,"<sup>23</sup> but the chronological divisions between the four periods are not always clearly stated. Nevertheless in Chapters IV and V of the second (chronological) part of the *Geschichte der Kunst* standard works of imperial art are discussed with high praise, although, characteristically, the chapters are called "About Greek art under the Romans and the Roman Emperors," and "Downfall of Art under Septimius Severus."<sup>24</sup> The term "Roman art" is avoided. Winckelmann realized that entire classes of art are typical of Roman art, such as the imperial and funeral portraits and the sarcophagi; however, he showed little interest in them.<sup>25</sup> His chapter "History of Art in Rome" presents a still useful collection of literary notices regarding works produced in or transported into Rome, but its scope is limited to the Republican period.<sup>26</sup> Etruscan art is treated separately.<sup>27</sup>

According to the plan of his book, Winckelmann scattered his statements and observations about Roman art over the various sections instead of collecting them in a continuous report. Frequently alien materials are included with the chapters on Rome. Yet with all its deficiencies, the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* gives us the first outline of a history of Roman art in modern terms, as it sets the first example of a modern history of Greek art. For more than a century afterwards archaeological research was occupied with sifting and

<sup>22</sup> *Geschichte der Kunst*, 191, chapter heading: "Erroneous Opinion, regarding a Specific Style of (sc. Roman) Art."

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, 157, chapter heading. The low estimation of the "Nachahmer" in this chapter contrasts with Winckelmann's own insistence, on other occasions, on "Nachahmung der Alten." Probably the difficulty is merely semantic, and Winckelmann had in both cases a different kind of "Nachahmung" in mind, though he used the same word; cf. Baumecker, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 15) 41 ff. But the chapter in *Geschichte der Kunst* shows that the idea of Greek art as the original was bound to have an unfavorable effect on the evaluation of Roman art. So Winckelmann already in the *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke*, of 1755; see Baumecker, *op. cit.*, 40.

<sup>24</sup> *Geschichte der Kunst*, 248 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, 163.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, 131 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, 72 ff.

enriching this impressive material. Gradually the outline was filled in with more and more reliable detail.

#### RE-EVALUATIONS

It is still possible to hold Winckelmann's view that Hellenistic art marks the beginning of a decline, and that a truly "Roman" art never existed because there was no "Roman" style.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless today his influence is not felt so directly. It was superseded during the nineteenth century by an important change of taste and intellectual attitude as well as a new development in the arts. Largely as a result of these changes the case of Roman art was re-opened toward the end of the century by the two Viennese art historians, A. Riegl and F. Wickhoff. The event marks a new phase in a controversy, then already of old standing.<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps the most obvious change was one of method. For the first time we see modern techniques of art historical analysis set to work on the Roman problem. In the minute examination of vast, disparate materials the free, if somewhat improvising, judgment of the cavalier-connoisseurs, eighteenth century style, was replaced by more objective criteria. Like a science, the history of art was now based on the observation of multiple cases. Archaeology had begun to establish a firmer foundation of factual and chronological knowledge, although both Riegl and Wickhoff complained that not enough of this work had been directed towards Roman studies, and their own dating of the monuments often shows that the complaint was not without substance.<sup>30</sup> But more important than the details is the insistence in the works of both scholars on new categories of esthetic description and comprehension.

Here one senses the impulse of contemporary, particularly impressionist, painting. A characteristic of late nineteenth century theory is the specializing emphasis on "pure seeing" as the true faculty of the artist, which with all ensuing problems became the origin of modern art. Especially Riegl never tires of asserting that works of ancient art, like all others, must first of all be judged by their "material appearance in contour and color, on the plane and in space."<sup>31</sup>

In the combination of fresh esthetic concepts with a vigorous historical analysis lies the chief advantage of this approach. The novelty of the theoretical

<sup>28</sup> V. *infra*, 43 ff.

<sup>29</sup> A. Riegl, *Stilfragen* (Berlin 1893); F. Wickhoff and W. Ritter von Hartel, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna 1895) 1-96; A. Riegl, *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie* (Vienna 1901).

<sup>30</sup> For instance, Wickhoff's erroneous dating of the so-called Spada-reliefs; cf. J. Sieveking, "Das römische Relief," *Festschrift Paul Arndt* (Munich 1925) 23, 29 f. For a list of chronological assumptions in Riegl, since found untenable, v. G. Kaschnitz Weinberg, *Gnomon* 5 (1929) 212 f.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted from the characteristic passage in *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie*, n. 1 (Author's translation).

interests could not fail to alter the very language of art criticism, which now aspires to increasing philosophical and scientific precision. The results are of fundamental importance even today, although for the unprepared reader the terminology occasionally requires explanation.

Every art testifies to an act of choice, which is best understood if we realize that one and the same idea can often be expressed in several different manners. Hence the value of comparisons for the understanding of art. Throughout the nineteenth century, Roman works were commonly compared with Greek art. This time the case was different. The original concern of Wickhoff and Riegl was not with the Greek classical but with early Medieval art. This different interest, which formed their starting point, provided both scholars with a new material of comparison, and as a result they began to revise drastically the then standard views on Roman art.

Their work is frankly polemical. It aims at a complete re-evaluation of the Roman period. For Roman art exhibits not a decline but a development, if judged by its final outcome, the Christian art of the Byzantine period and the Middle Ages. Wickhoff in particular possessed a high sensitivity to the – non-naturalistic – animation of premedieval painting. This enabled him, for instance, to “see” the Roman reliefs in the Arch of Titus as the forerunners of early Byzantine miniatures of the type of the *Vienna Genesis*.

Riegl's *Stilfragen* came first. He wrote them in order to demonstrate the continuous development of vegetable ornament from early antiquity to the Byzantine and Saracen arts. In this context a re-evaluation of Roman art became inevitable. Riegl also saw the connection between the current low esteem of Roman art and the theory of a decline during the Roman period, which he questioned: “There was a process of evolution of ancient art during the empire, and its trend was rising, not declining, as everyone wants us to believe.”<sup>32</sup> Two years later Wickhoff expressly gave his consent to this statement. His introduction to the *Vienna Genesis*, soon afterwards translated and published as a separate volume by Mrs. Strong, constitutes the first modern book on Roman art.<sup>33</sup>

Wickhoff's book starts by discussing a particular mode of representation common in Medieval art, which shows the progress of an event by illustrating the same person twice or more often at different moments but within the same composition. This he calls “continuous” narration. He stresses the non-naturalistic character of such compositions, then proceeds to show that the origin of this “continuous style” was in Roman art.<sup>34</sup> In order to account for this

<sup>32</sup> A. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, 272. (Author's translation).

<sup>33</sup> F. Wickhoff, *Roman Art: Some of its Principles and their Application to Early Christian Painting*, translated and edited by Mrs. A. Strong (London and New York 1900). All references in the following are to this edition. For the reference to Riegl, v. *op. cit.*, 17.

<sup>34</sup> For later critical discussions of the “continuous style” v. *infra*, n. 54.

phenomenon so openly contradicting the naturalistic art theories of his own time, he developed a new theory of Roman art, which was to be of great consequence in the future.

Wickhoff's own art theory is not really completely divorced from the naturalistic. He understands art as a process of representation rather than independent creation. Accordingly he stipulates a progress from "stylized" to "naturalistic" representation in the sense of objective naturalism (objects shown as they essentially *are*). Then follows "illusionism." With this term he designates a representation of objects as they *appear* (not *are*), a kind of subjective naturalism. This is the highest form of art. Rembrandt and especially Velasquez are his favorite examples of "illusionism."<sup>35</sup>

The concept of "decline" is not entirely discarded by Wickhoff. Thus he arrives at the following reconstruction of ancient art. Greek art declines during the Hellenistic period. Meanwhile an "illusionistic" art has formed in Etruscan and Roman Italy (17 ff). Augustan art, still semi-Hellenistic, ranks relatively low in his esteem (26 ff). Its "imitative naturalism" is contrasted with the native, Etruscan-Latin trends. From the fusion of both the Augustan and the native grows the Flavian style, reaching its highest development with the reliefs on the Arch of Titus. The "illusionistic" Roman relief has thus been created – a kind of painting with sculptural shadows – and developed into a national style (48 ff; 73 ff). It gives rise to a new, Western and Roman art under Trajan with "continuous" compositions, in the Column of Trajan (114). The same evolution can be observed in Pompeian painting (117 ff).

A few years later Riegl published the *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, which also directly opposed itself to the ruling dogma of a decline in ancient art. In fact, he set out to apply a positive interpretation to those very "dark ages" which allegedly caused the disintegration of all arts. "Late Roman" to Riegl means the time between 313 (edict of Nicaea) and 768 (accession of Charlemagne), precisely the period which since the Renaissance had been generally denounced as the age of "barbarism."<sup>36</sup> For this purpose Riegl too gives a survey of Roman art under the Empire, concentrating more on the continuous stylistic trends than the division by periods. Like Wickhoff he aims to show how the "Late Roman" style developed from the earlier, but he places greater emphasis on the continuity of art during the critical centuries after Trajan. It is equally important to see how this book supplements and confirms and how it criticizes the theory of Wickhoff.

The concepts of Riegl are in general more analytic-philosophical, less pragmatic-impressionistic. Foremost amongst them is the concept of "Kunstwollen." The literal translation, "artistic intention," does not sufficiently cover the meaning which Riegl implied with this term.

<sup>35</sup> For these terms, v. F. Wickhoff, *Roman art*, 17 ff; 117 ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Kunstindustrie*, 10; opposition to earlier theories, 4. Among his predecessors in the re-evaluation of Roman art Riegl gave recognition to Jacob Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 3. Wickhoff referred to H. Brunn, *Roman Art*, 54 n.

"Stylistic intent" might be more adequate. The word and the concept were inspired by another polemical concern of its author. It is directed against the materialistic theory which holds that forms in art result automatically, as it were, from techniques, materials used or other physical conditions. To these ideas Riegl opposes the "Kunstwollen" as a formative will, which in all techniques and materials achieves its own end, a specific style. As far as styles of art are common to entire periods, it follows that a common, perhaps fundamentally instinctive, "Kunstwollen" must be assumed in all individuals of a period. This collective factor or common formative intention determines the taste and dominant interests of art at any one time. It is the origin of the periodically changing and no less collective styles of art. As a common denominator it connects all artistic productions of an age, even the forms of architecture, with the co-eval sculpture, painting, and minor arts – the "Kunstindustrie" to whose study the book was dedicated in the first place.<sup>37</sup>

Riegl, unlike Wickhoff, does not ascribe true "illusionism" to Roman art. In the *Kunstindustrie* the entire history of art is viewed as a history of spatial representation (51 ff.), and Riegl holds that the illusion of space was not within the intention of Roman artists. The "Kunstwollen" of all ancient art including the Roman Empire is concerned with "isolation of individual forms in the plane," not the connection of forms by a common spatial medium, as in Renaissance art (45). Thus Riegl revises the findings of Wickhoff regarding the spatial effect of certain Roman reliefs. There is a continuous development, however. Classical Greek reliefs show the forms connected with the neutral ground from which they seem to grow and which is a "tactile ground," that is, a real part of the sculptural form. During the Roman era this relation between ground and objects changes gradually. Late Roman reliefs place the figures in front of the ground, which has lost its sculptural function, because the forms are detached from it. Instead they relate to an imaginary foreground-field, the "optical plane."<sup>38</sup> The real ground only appears in the dark intervals between sharply outlined forms; it has become a negativism. Thus the space theory of Riegl affirms a continuous progress far beyond the imputed "illusionism" of the first century A. D. Not before the time of Constantine have the Roman reliefs achieved a complete and resolute detachment from the "tactile ground." Then only the way was free for the Medieval and newer arts to develop. In the reliefs, painting and mosaics after Constantine the change becomes obvious. Figures and objects are now seen in the "optical" foreground-plane; for the first time in history the artists show them in front of – not in contact with – a ground which has become "background," suggesting space. Roman art of the Empire constituted the inevitable transition between these two modes of "seeing," the classical and the post-classical.

One should read the *Kunstindustrie* after the *Wiener Genesis*. The original inspiration and visual sensitivity was Wickhoff's. Much in Riegl's book is best understood as a critical re-statement of observations by Wickhoff. This is especially true of the descriptions of reliefs, the methodical investigation of the visual elements, space, light and shadow, in ancient art, the distinction of three stages in this evolution. Riegl, too, included Egyptian art in his investigation, in order to exemplify the first stage of his evolutionary scheme, described as wholly "tactile" without regard to "optical" illusion, and this corresponds with Wick-

<sup>37</sup> *Kunstindustrie*, 5 f.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, 7 f; 47.

hoff's general description of pre-naturalistic art as "stylized." It is true that Riegl needed a new terminology of stylistic description, for the reason that, unlike Wickhoff, he wanted to describe the entire trend of art in each period, including the non-representational arts like architecture. Nevertheless the thorough rewording of all the stylistic concepts which he accepted from Wickhoff indicates a more fundamental difference of temperament. Riegl objectified the system outlined by Wickhoff. Where the latter related impressions and experience, Riegl stated reasons and explained. The esthetic sensibility of Wickhoff was impressionist, pre-Cézanne, that of Riegl analytic, on a level with Cézanne. Riegl could conceive of a change of art, even beyond the ideal of "Schönlebigkeit" as which he summarized the contemporary program, "beauty" understood as proportioned form, "animation" as natural motion. Therefore he was better equipped than Wickhoff to account for the fact that the Romans did not abide by the similarly balanced vivacity of the Flavian and Trajanic reliefs. He was able to regard the "crystallized" forms and "disproportion" of Constantinian art with interest, as important symptoms of change but not necessarily of decay. Riegl was mistaken in ascribing to the late Roman artists a theory of pure vision not unlike that of Cézanne.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless his claim does not seem unjustified that he was the first to close the gap, left open by the Renaissance theorists, of a "dark age" between ancient and modern art. After his demonstration the late Roman period was no longer a vacuum.

In its most general aspect the re-evaluation of Roman art by Wickhoff and Riegl implies a positive interpretation of modernism. The negation of a decline in Roman and late classical art has an optimistic slant towards the future. Correspondingly, on the other hand, the emphasis on the decline and downfall of ancient civilization often carries a retrospective and nostalgic connotation; sometimes it is charged with the emotional overtones of resignation or guilt.<sup>40</sup> Yet both philosophies are apt to refer to the Roman problem as a test case for any theory of cultural change, regardless of whether these changes are interpreted as biological cycles, like growth and decay, or as continuous evolution. In scruti-

<sup>39</sup> The underlying assumption with Riegl no less than Wickhoff was that artists at all times represent what they see; the changes of style therefore seemed to depend on optical theories. A materialistic concept of art, common during the nineteenth century, is reflected in these ideas. Reasons why the scientific terminology of Riegl proved inadequate to late Roman art have been given by G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Gnomon* 5 (1929) 195 ff. Riegl was not wrong, however, in assuming that a theory of pure vision can lead – in fact, must lead – to an abstract art; v. his remarks in *Kunstindustrie*, 64 f. Modern art, which was actually based on such a theory, bears out Riegl. The early cubists still painted what they "saw," as one learns from Picasso's conversations with Miss G. Stein.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the interesting remarks of Fustel de Coulange, apropos of Couture's well known painting *The Romans of the Decadence*, J. J. Seznec, *GBA* 24 (1943) 221 ff.

nizing the past fate of Rome the modern world has more than once felt that a problem of the present also was at stake.

Wickhoff and Riegl agreed on the positive interpretation of the Roman phenomenon. In other, hardly less important, respects their historical views differed. As we have seen, a systematic thought of considerable scope was implied in Wickhoff's conception of Roman art. Varying modes of artistic representation express various attitudes towards reality. The word "illusionism" was coined in order to characterize an art that deals with sensuous images, not the intrinsic forms of the world around us. Wickhoff made the point but did not especially stress it; Riegl neglected it, or perhaps took it for granted. This must be regretted, for in the subsequent discussion on Roman art the systematic meaning of Wickhoff's term was rarely realized. "Illusionism" was commonly understood in a less precise sense, as a kind of impressionistic technique, a sketchy though colorful method of representation.

Riegl, on the contrary, was inclined to stress the systematic nature of his concepts. The progress from "tactile" to "optical" representations to him had the binding force of a natural law. Therefore he diagnosed correctly the late Roman concern with space but failed to explain other equally obvious characteristics of late Roman art, like the return to a new concept of essential form.<sup>41</sup> Wickhoff saw the interaction of various trends in Roman art more realistically, because he did not presuppose the cultural uniformity of an historical period. In regard to this question the closing chapter of the *Kunstindustrie* is especially interesting. There, in a brief epilogue, Riegl set out to demonstrate the validity of his concept "Kunstwollen" beyond the limits of art proper (215 ff). So defined, the concept no longer denotes a formative will of art only, but a basic regulative principle underlying all cultural expressions of an age. It might be more correctly called a "Kulturwollen." No doubt we deal here with a heuristic principle of the first order, whose consequences reach far beyond the field of art criticism into the theories of history, anthropology and sociology. On the other hand Riegl's thought in this instance foreshadows the deterministic theories of cultural integration which made their appearance in the twentieth century from Spengler to Toynbee. And here a serious dilemma announces itself. In all theories which impose a totalitarian uniformity on the historical-cultural periods, as in the abstractions "Gothic man," "Baroque spirit" etc., art once more appears to be a mere function of circumstances. Yet Riegl's term demands a degree of freedom for the arts to express a deliberate choice. It loses all meaning when no choice is left to the artist to exercise a "formative will." While the idea of a collective "Kunstwollen" in a totally integrated culture may prove a

<sup>41</sup> Cf. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39) 201 f.

ready means for the historian to illustrate his point, it is hardly a suitable instrument for the investigation of works of art. The danger is, if the concept is so used, that the historian takes for granted what he has set himself to investigate; he reaches a foregone conclusion.

One other point must yet be mentioned regarding the definition of the term "Roman." Riegl's view of the Roman achievement in art remained universalistic. In the continuous, universal process of history "Rome" signifies a period, the transition from the ancient to the new condition of the western world. From his viewpoint, no distinction between "Greek" and "Roman" art seemed indicated except in terms of chronology; in this respect he was no less universalistic than Winckelmann.<sup>42</sup> Wickhoff, on the other hand, took up a different position. He felt that a sharp distinction should be made between Roman art with its native Italic background and Greek. To him the art of Rome was a national phenomenon.

#### "ORIENT OR ROME"

Around 1900 the discussion of Roman art entered upon a new phase which is easily recognized, if only by the rapidly increasing host of publications on the subject. The outstanding fact is that Roman art had become an object of attention and a field of study in its own right. For this change the books of Wickhoff and Riegl were not the sole reason. They appeared at a propitious moment, however, and in the ensuing reviews and discussions important additions and corrections were brought forward almost at once. A surprising and, it may seem today, somewhat inexplicable vehemence is sometimes shown in these controversies. The point is worth noting as another characteristic of the new situation, which recalls the equally violent reaction to contemporaneous modernism in literature and painting.

At the same time, and often quite independently of these theoretical discussions, the archaeological contributions to Roman art increase in number. The effect of the great publications of monuments begins to be felt: H. Brunn's publication of Etruscan urns, since 1870; K. Robert's "Ancient Sarcophagi," since 1890.<sup>43</sup> The outline of a documented history of Roman portraiture can be gleaned from the volumes of J. J. Bernoulli's "Roman Iconography," even today not fully replaceable,<sup>44</sup> and in the new, scholarly catalogues, like Ame-

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the passage quoted above, n. 1, from *Kunstindustrie* 10; Riegl's criticism of Wickhoff, regarding the assumption of a national Roman style, *op. cit.*, 6; 63 f.

<sup>43</sup> H. von Brunn, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche* (pub. a nome dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica, Rome 1870-96); K. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (Archaeologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, Berlin 1890-1939). Both works are not yet completed; publication continues.

<sup>44</sup> J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart 1882-1894).

lung's "Sculptures of the Vatican," Greek and Roman objects are treated with equal justice.<sup>45</sup> The partial recovery of the Ara Pacis Augustae, since 1871,<sup>46</sup> and A. Mau's investigations of Pompeian painting,<sup>47</sup> were already utilized by Wickhoff and Riegl. In 1900, coincident with Riegl's *Kunstindustrie*, A. Furtwängler's work on the engraved stones appeared. This included an admirable survey – the first based on original materials – of the conditions of art in Italy from the archaic to the Augustan period.<sup>48</sup> In 1907, Mrs. A. Strong, the translator of Wickhoff, published her own book on Roman art, which, with its subsequent editions and supported by her many other publications, has remained the standard text book in the field.<sup>49</sup> It is understandable that in the introduction, which still makes interesting reading, Mrs. Strong referred to the impressive record of these recent studies as a "Roman movement" and a veritable "revival."<sup>50</sup>

This interest in Roman art lasted once it was aroused; it survived wars and revolutions. At first sight its result may seem a multitude of useful and necessary research but no outstanding change of principle. Yet in reality the theories of Wickhoff and Riegl are no longer ours. A change has occurred. The early twentieth century, no less than its predecessors, created its own theory of Roman art. This time the change came about more gradually. It was not so openly proclaimed, nor was it epitomized in a single book or article.

<sup>45</sup> W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* (im Auftrage und unter Mitwirkung des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung), 4 vols. (text and plates) (Berlin 1903–1908); publication continued by G. Lippold. This work was preceded by earlier catalogues of similar scope, but published without plates, like O. Benndorf and R. Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateranensischen Museums* (Leipzig 1867); F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom, mit Ausschluss der grösseren Sammlungen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1881–1882). The sculpture catalogue of the British Museum appeared about the same time: A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Brit. Mus.*, 3 vols. (London 1892–1904). Publication continues.

<sup>46</sup> F. v. Duhn, "Sopra alcuni bassorilievi che ornavano un monumento pubblico Romano dell'epoca di Augusto", *AnnIst* 53 (1881) 302 ff.; cf. 302 n. 1. E. Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Vienna 1902) 8 f. V. also *infra*, 38.

<sup>47</sup> A. Mau, *Geschichte d. decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (Berlin 1882).

<sup>48</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen; Geschichte der Steinschneide-Kunst im klassischen Altertum*, 3 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin 1900).

<sup>49</sup> E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* (London 1907). The book was later rewritten and published in Italian: *La scultura romana da Augusto a Costantino*, traduzione italiana di G. Gianelli dall'opera intieramente rifatta dall'autrice, 2 vols. (Florence 1923–1926). Comprehensive works on Roman art by the same author: *Art in Ancient Rome*, 2 vols. (London 1929); *Apotheosis and After Life; three lectures on certain phases of art and religion in the Roman Empire* (London 1915) 2 ff. (introductory address); "The Art of the Roman Republic," *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. IX (Cambridge 1932) 803 ff.; "The Art of the Augustan Age," *op. cit.*, vol. X (Cambridge 1934) 545 ff.; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article "Roman Art."

<sup>50</sup> E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 24.

The new situation can be summarized as follows: Roman art, at this stage, has many more advocates than before; one finds a greater readiness to accept its esthetic standards. However, most writers on the subject still feel apologetic. As Mrs. Strong put it in 1915: "The art of the Roman Empire is no longer dismissed as a last unimportant chapter in the history of the decadent antique; the endeavor is now to prove that this art was not Roman at all."<sup>51</sup> We add: the endeavour of its defenders, on the other hand, now is to prove that this art *was* Roman.

One recognizes the difference. The controversy from Winckelmann to Riegl centered on the *esthetic evaluation* of Roman art. Now the *terminological question* moves into the foreground. What is meant by Roman? This, for the time being, emerges as the most hotly debated aspect of the Roman problem. How, without a plausible solution of the *terminological* problem, can anyone hope to answer the question, what is Roman about Roman art?

Winckelmann had declared that Roman art was the decadence of the Hellenistic style. In 1901, opposing Wickhoff, J. Strzygowski made virtually the same assertion and thereby set off the long and acrimonious argument to which Mrs. Strong particularly alluded in her above-quoted sentence. Yet Strzygowski did not deny the "rising line" in the late and post-classical development. He merely denied that the "rising" trend was either Greek-Byzantine or Greek-Hellenistic or, least of all, Roman. Instead he identified it with an assumed re-activation of the old culture regions along the northeastern, eastern and southern borders of the Empire. Strzygowski located the original source of energy from which these far-reaching changes issued in the mysterious heartland of Asia, in Iran. This is the meaning of his programmatic title, "Orient or Rome:" what appears new or "Roman" in Roman and early Christian art was really the gift of the "Orient" to Rome – "Orient" being taken in a rather sweeping sense, comprising both the native and Hellenistic cultures of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.<sup>52</sup>

In one respect this modern theory implied a very drastic change of values. The decline of Rome is taken for granted, as is that of all Hellenism. But it is not ascribed here to the much decried influx of orientals. On the contrary, the cultural contribution of the East receives a decidedly positive evaluation: "In Syria, Alexandria and Asia Minor . . . probably originated the creative urge, not yet exhausted, which induces the architect to conceive the formation of space more than the articulation of mass. Two architectural types take the place of the old: one whose outstanding feature is the dome, as the perfect expression of a composition centering on interior space; the other type, the basilica, that *pasticcio* of spatial and mass architecture to which only the Germanic people (die Germanen) in their Gothic cathedrals could impart unity of space by

<sup>51</sup> *Apotheosis and After Life*, 3.

<sup>52</sup> J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom; Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig 1901). For a brief and comprehensive evaluation of Strzygowski's work, v. the obituary by E. F. Herzfeld, W. R. W. Koehler, and C. R. Morey, in *Speculum* 17 (1942) 460 ff.

overcoming victoriously the resistance of the weighty mass."<sup>53</sup> This sentence is fraught with arguable ideas and judgments, and obviously is not an impartial statement. But what especially interests us here is its outspoken partiality for the East and the North against Latinism and Hellenism, the very reversal of the old theory that the arts declined under the Barbarians.

The introduction to "Orient oder Rom," from which the above quotation stems, was written as a critique of the *Wiener Genesis*. In it the chief weaknesses of Wickhoff's book are clearly and not unjustly pointed out. It is doubtful if the method of composition called "continuous" by Wickhoff can be claimed as a Roman peculiarity,<sup>54</sup> and it is quite certain that illusionism was a Hellenistic and not originally a Roman trend, if by this term we understand no more than an "illusionistische Malweise."<sup>55</sup> Yet, as we saw, Wickhoff also implied with his term a more systematic meaning, introducing it as the third stage of a general evolution of art. This aspect was entirely disregarded by Strzygowski as by most other contemporaries, Riegl included. Moreover, Riegl's own scheme of the universal development of art by way of three modes of vision found equally little interest even with those readers who accepted his pleading of the special case, the progress of Roman art. One can hardly avoid the conclusion that for the time being the interest in the problem of national arts had eclipsed the search for a universal principle of evolution.

Wickhoff himself prepared the way for an interpretation of Roman art as a native "Italic," i. e. a national, manifestation. Now Strzygowski opposed him, not because he saw art and culture in a continuous process of evolution like Riegl, but rather as the discoverer of other national and racial energies, those of the Orient and the North, not yet sufficiently appreciated. In his vehement defense of the supremacy of Asia in and beyond the Byzantine civilization Rome was to him but of passing interest. He judges the Hellenistic-Roman world of the Empire "a colourless mass-culture," incapable of creating an "individual culture" and a "national art."<sup>56</sup> We sense the new creed that all art must be the expression of a national spirit.

The complicating factor in these discussions is a certain radicalism of principle often incongruent with the conditions of ancient art. Modern nationalism arose from conditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to become what it now is, the strongest public sentiment of our times. It seems unlikely from the outset that any product of ancient or Medieval civilizations should be found in complete agreement with an idea so modern. Indeed it is difficult to construe Roman art as a national art in this sense. Strzygowski has pointed out some of the reasons: the lack of famous artists with Roman names, the difficulty of claiming as specifically Roman such characteristics as the illusionistic technique of painting.<sup>57</sup> These are valid observations. But because of them to deny

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.*, 10 (translation by the author).

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.*, 3 f. For the concept of "continuous" narration in art, cf. also *supra* 22 and the more recent discussions of Roman "historical" reliefs cited *infra*, ns. 105, 106.

<sup>55</sup> Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, 6 f.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, 8.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.*, 8. Cf. 5, "The main point is that representation by means of light and colour is not a national talent, but may occur with all peoples who have a gift for art..." (author's translation).

the problem itself and return to the opinion in force before Wickhoff, that Roman imperial was only the last phase of Hellenistic art, must seem a step backwards. Such an attitude failed to live up to the reality at hand, the monuments. It was no better than to declare, for instance, that all is said about Baroque art, if instead of Baroque we call it the latest phase of the Renaissance. Undoubtedly Baroque painting grew from that of the Renaissance, but in art results count for more than origin, and so "Baroque" is different from "Renaissance." Likewise, to use a standard example of first century art, the reliefs in the Arch of Titus undoubtedly incorporate a great deal of Hellenistic experience and at least one oriental element in the monarchic interpretation of the triumphator. But the result, again, is something apart from all truly Hellenistic and Oriental art. Here, as in anything that we judge by its form, the aggregate is more than a mere sum of the contributing factors. It is something in its own right, which we may call Roman.

With respect to critical method, the following points should be noted. The discussion of Roman art has now completely abandoned the historical universalism of Wickhoff and especially of Riegl, which in the great changes of style demonstrated the underlying general law of evolution. Instead, we find evidence of a new historical realism. The argument about the relation between Rome and the Orient turns on the interaction of historically identifiable forces rather than a logical and general principle of evolution.

Although this controversy lies for the most part beyond the scope of this essay, it concerns the study of Roman art before Constantine in one respect. It emphasizes the Hellenistic factor and beyond that the action of essentially non-European, "Oriental" elements in the Roman Empire. While the extent as well as the esthetic and cultural evaluation of this "Oriental" contribution remained an arguable matter, the cultural supremacy of Rome during the "Roman" era was once more put in doubt.<sup>58</sup> The conclusion was at once drawn by Strzygowski that the history of Roman imperial art might be more adequately described as the simultaneous develop-

<sup>58</sup> v. E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture* 12 ff. Cf. the interesting chapter on "Rome et l'Orient" in F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*,<sup>3</sup> (Paris 1929) 1 ff. The various contributions of the East to Roman civilization, enumerated in this chapter, may be conveniently divided into three categories: *a*) Roman adaptations (e. g. of Ptolemaic methods of government to the imperial administration); *b*) contributions of individuals (e. g. of Ulpian of Tyre and Papi-nian of Emesa to Roman law, or of Apollodorus of Damascus to Roman architecture); *c*) collective contributions of the native, eastern Hellenistic peoples (especially in the field of religion). Therefore "Rome" and "Orient" were not real opposites during the first two centuries A. D. The trend towards a pan-Mediterranean civilization started in the Hellenistic era and continued under Roman rule. Assimilation was mostly voluntary, not enforced; regional tendencies persisted but did not often consciously oppose the "world" standards. For this state of affairs v. M. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World*, II (Oxford 1927) 286 ff.; idem, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, II (Oxford 1941) 1309 ff. A brief list of corrections according to recent research of Strzygowski's findings in *Orient oder Rom* is found in G. A. S. Snijder, "Het Problem der Romeinsche Kunst," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* (1934) 6 ff. Cf. *supra*, n. 52.

ment of several artistic centers rather than of Rome alone.<sup>59</sup> The suggestion was not carried out immediately but was recently adopted for one of the latest synoptic presentations of Roman art, by C. R. Morey.<sup>60</sup>

Otherwise the "Orient or Rome" controversy had little immediate influence on the studies of Roman art. It failed to open new avenues of understanding where they were most needed, with regard to the monuments of Italy and especially Rome herself. The strict denial of a Roman art after Wickhoff and Riegl ran counter to common experience. Indirectly, however, it undoubtedly strengthened the existing trend. The search for the proper characteristics of Roman art was felt to be the pressing task after 1901 even more than before.

#### THE AGE OF NATIONALISM

Nothing, perhaps, illustrates more clearly the success of Wickhoff and Riegl than the fact that the continued efforts to define the specific quality of Roman art were so persistently concentrated on representations in relief and the problem of space. The two pioneers of Roman art themselves had not overlooked the other outstanding group of Roman monuments, the portraits. Wickhoff derived from them his famous distinction between the "typical" Greek and the "individual" Italic style. Riegl not only included portraits in his demonstration of the progressing "crystallization" and "distant-optical" effects of Roman art; he also recognized their firm gaze as a characteristic attitude indicating an awareness of the spatial world into which these works seem to look.<sup>61</sup> But such observations, however important, were nevertheless subordinated to the prevailing interest in the development of "illusion" or "optical" intention in Roman reliefs. They did not in themselves constitute a theory of portrait art comparable to the new theory of space in art. The need for a more exclusive and concentrated study of Roman portraits was soon afterwards stated in a brief study by A. Wace.<sup>62</sup> Mrs. Strong in her own book on Roman sculpture again dealt almost exclusively with the reliefs, but added a special chapter on portraiture from Augustus to Constantine. Portraits were thus accepted into the first modern handbook on Roman art but not integrated with the historical survey by periods which constituted the main body of the text.<sup>63</sup>

This persistent emphasis on one aspect of Roman art may surprise us, because the recent controversies had already indicated that the spatial illusionism of these monuments might not be so specifically Roman as Wickhoff thought.

<sup>59</sup> J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, 9 f.

<sup>60</sup> V. *infra*, 48 ff. and n. 99.

<sup>61</sup> *Kunstindustrie*, 70. The function of the eye is different in Greek portraits; v. L. Curtius, "Geist der römischen Kunst," *Die Antike* 5 (1929) 190 f.

<sup>62</sup> A. B. Wace, *Evolution of Art in Roman Portraiture* (Rome 1905).

<sup>63</sup> *Roman Sculpture*, 347 ff.

Therefore the reliefs would seem to offer a less promising material than, for instance, the portraits, if one wished to define the proper characteristics of Roman art. Yet, to discover an inner coherence, i. e. an inherent "Romanitas," in all Roman works was the more or less outspoken purpose of the new Roman studies. Thus, Mrs. Strong in her much quoted book set out to describe "the solidarity of artistic endeavour" in Roman art.<sup>64</sup> That in these circumstances the reliefs nevertheless continued to hold the center of interest was primarily due to Wickhoff's influence. There was, however, an additional reason, namely the actual, political content of the so-called "historical" reliefs, which began to be recognized more often as a distinctive feature of Roman art.

Without an insight into this broader background of ideas, the following discussions of Roman art can hardly be understood. As we said previously, signs of another ideological change appeared around 1900 in the criticism of Roman monuments. The new ideas matured slowly, and culminated after the first World War in two studies almost simultaneously published in Munich by J. Sieveking and C. Weickert.<sup>65</sup>

The essay by J. Sieveking, according to the summary, was written in order to correct Wickhoff in a fundamental point. It argues the superior importance of Augustan art.<sup>66</sup> In the evolutionary scheme of Wickhoff the Flavian style held the place of honor with good reason. It marks the height of that "illusionism" toward which all development was directed and which, according to Wickhoff, was the essential content of Roman art. It is evident that, by shifting the emphasis from the Flavian to the earlier Augustan style, Sieveking stipulated a different development and a different content of Roman art.

Important, in principle, is the fact that Sieveking no longer uses "illusionism" as a capital term.<sup>67</sup> Instead, the essential content of Roman art as exemplified by the reliefs of the Ara Pacis Augustae consists of three "specifically Roman" factors: 1. "effect of spatial depth;" this tendency developed in Italic reliefs (e. g. Etruscan urns) as opposed to Greek-Hellenistic art. 2. A modified Greek element, the "neo-Attic" (e. g. in the representation of draperies). 3. A "sense of reality," which expresses itself in two ways, in the representation of actual (political) themes, not shown in Greek art, and in the naturalistic rendition of details.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.*, preface, VIII.

<sup>65</sup> J. Sieveking, "Das römische Relief," in *Festschrift P. Arndt* (Munich 1925) 14 ff.; C. Weickert, "Gladiatoren-Relief der Münchner Glyptothek," *MJ* 2 (1925) 1 ff.

<sup>66</sup> Sieveking, *op. cit.*, 35.

<sup>67</sup> "Illusionistisch" still occurs on occasion, as a general attribute of Roman reliefs. It refers to the "illusion of spatial effects" as well as the calculated effects of light and shade much as in Wickhoff; v. the discussion of the reliefs in the Arch of Titus, Sieveking, *op. cit.*, 27. But no systematic significance like the one discussed above, pp. 22 ff., is now implicit in this word.

<sup>68</sup> Sieveking, *op. cit.*, 22.

In accordance with this interpretation Wickhoff's evolutionary scheme also had to be changed. In fact the history of the Roman reliefs no longer presents itself as a continuous evolution; there is no logical principle or recognizable aim of development. Instead, two principles, one Greek, the other Roman, stand in opposition to each other, and their varying states of prevalence or decline in relation to each other determine the periods of Roman art. That is to say, the rational idea of evolution has now entirely given way to a more pragmatic concept, the irrational succession of events. According to Sieveking's outline, the "Roman" idea of art was first realized under Augustus. "Space," its native theme, continued to develop through the Claudian and Flavian periods (28). A regression started during the reign of Trajan; under Hadrian we witness a complete "break with the Italic, spatial idea of representation" (29). However, in the new space representations which appear at the time of Marcus Aurelius the Italic tradition was revived (33 ff.). After the year 250 a regression set in again and this time proved final. Late classical reliefs are flat, striving for "ornamental, black and white effects" (34). In a presentation which evaluates spatial effects so highly this verdict on late classical art can only mean a decline. The decline is specified, however; it is the "Roman" component which has declined, or succumbed to other trends, Greek or Oriental.<sup>69</sup>

The article by C. Weickert has a more limited scope. Its subject is a fragmentary Roman relief in Munich representing with considerable realism the closing episode of a gladiatorial game. Because Weickert assigned this monument to a date between 110 and 80 B. C.,<sup>70</sup> his detailed investigation carries the discussion on Roman art beyond the Augustan into the end of the Republican period. The article is of importance principally as a supplement to the simultaneous essay by Sieveking.

In the introduction the brief survey of earlier studies on Roman art is interesting because of the definition given of the late classical style. Unlike Sieveking, but also Riegl whose positive evaluation of this style he otherwise shares, Weickert finds the explanation of late classical art precisely in the weakening of the Greek influence; thereby "the genuine Roman element emerges more clearly" (2). The possibility of an even more comprehensive reconstruction of Roman art as the rise of an original, Italic style gradually freeing itself from foreign influences thus appears. But one also notices the highly theoretical presuppositions of such a theory. It depends not only on our positive esthetic evaluation of the late Roman production, but also on the conviction that there is a constant, native component in Roman art, whose characteristics remain recognizable or even "emerge more clearly", to the end of antiquity. A characteristic of such fundamental nature Weickert like Sieveking declares to be the representation of space. Accordingly, he too maintains that Greek reliefs do not show space, while in Rome in spite of strong Greek influences during the Augustan age the Italic tradition continues to represent space, "which is foreign to Greek art."<sup>71</sup> Both authors further disagree in one other detail which, is not without significance. Weickert does not admit that the quality of space is also present in the Etruscan reliefs; he considers it purely Italic-Roman, not due to any foreign (Etruscan) influence (26 ff.).

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.*, 34. An oriental component of Hellenistic art is assumed to emerge in the Pergamene Telephos frieze, *op. cit.*, 19.

<sup>70</sup> "Gladiatoren-Relief," 37.

<sup>71</sup> Literally (the "Italic" tradition continues) "in Gestalt der dem griechischen fremden Raumeinbeziehung," Sieveking, *op. cit.*, 35.

There can be little doubt that we have to do here with a new theory of Roman art. This approach is entirely based on the novel concept of the national character of art, a concept which has acquired general significance only in our time. It is now taken for granted that the groups which we call nations produce the styles of art, and that they have this effect not only sometimes or in certain cases, but always and by necessity. Just as most nations possess a language of their own, have a literature and cultural tradition of their own, and in the course of history have aspired to autonomous statehood, so, it is assumed, a definite style of art is proper to each of them owing to national traits of character. Consequently we are confronted with a modern, nationalistic principle of criticism which operates in two ways. By this principle differences of style can be interpreted as expressions of national diversity, or, viceversa, differences of nationality can be expected to express themselves in an analogous diversity of artistic styles. The more the nationalistic idea develops, the more it tends, as a matter of principle, to stipulate an autonomous art for every nationality, just as political theory demands an autonomous state for every nation.

These notions are sufficiently well known for us to dispense with their further description. They have long been in the making, but during the nineteenth century their theoretical foundation underwent considerable change. In discussing the Greek character Winckelmann was still content with the Aristotelian explanation that ethnical differences result from different climates. Modern nationalism is not so easily satisfied. Too many and diverse events have occurred under the same, mild, Mediterranean sky to admit of so simple an explanation. The ancient civilizations have vanished without a change of climate; other cultures have arisen in the same climate and proved different. Therefore nationalistic theory looks for other factors, especially the presumed homogeneity of aboriginal, linguistic or racial groups, in order to explain the unity and coherence of the historical civilizations. In this interpretation of the past modern humanity pays homage to its own overwhelming experience of the appalling energies of creation and destruction which have accumulated in our great national states.

It must be pointed out, however, that if we apply this modern nationalistic interpretation to Roman art we make assumptions, the same assumptions which we make when we explain French or English or any other national art as the manifestation of an ever present, national spirit. We assume in particular that certain "Roman" characteristics remain constant in all Roman works and in all vicissitudes of time, because these qualities correspond to certain native and equally constant propensities of the Romans as a group, a nation or a race. From there it is only one step to the further assumption that the entire history of Roman art, in the last analysis, is only the evolution of a single

inherent principle from its primitive or prehistoric origin to its final disintegration. This, indeed, is the final consequence of any nationalistic theory of culture or art.

Riegl's own concept, the collective "formative will," is still active in these speculations. But the difference between his thought and the new theory is equally apparent. In the universalistic scheme of Riegl, "Kunstwollen" has an epochal meaning; it expresses the spirit of a historical period. To use a term of Hegel, it is the function of a "Zeitgeist." In the nationalistic theories art appears to depend on no less supra-personal forces, but the source from which the "formative will" flows is differently conceived. It more clearly corresponds to the romantic idea of a *génie national* ("Volksgeist") or national genius.<sup>72</sup>

Both concepts have in common that they lend themselves easily to a deterministic interpretation. In the critical and historical analysis of art this trend tends to ignore the spontaneous aspects of the creative process. Its methodical justification is the fact that large groups of anonymous works such as the Roman reliefs must first of all be described by their typical, not individual qualities. They cannot be studied or methodically arranged except in typological categories. Peculiar to the new critical attitude is not this method but the readiness to generalize and to take typical qualities of style as evidence of a national character.

Theories of this kind presuppose a complete domination of the impersonal "style" — expression of national character — over the personal "will" of the artists. As Weickert puts it apropos of the Hadrianic classicism, which temporarily deserted the allegedly national, Roman principle of space, "naturally the disregard of space is carried only so far as this is at all possible in Roman works" (39). Such statements rate the artists' freedom of choice rather low. On the other hand they leave open the question of what really enforces this adherence of the artists to the impersonal "styles." Is the reason a rational condition, e. g. the training in workshops, or an irrational, instinctive disposition? Generally this trend favours the latter alternative. One begins to feel the methodological influence of prehistoric research, in which changes of style are now commonly accepted as evidence of ethnical changes.<sup>73</sup> In a similar sense these discussions of Roman monuments presume a basic, national principle of style; exceptions from this principle appear as something foreign or un-Roman.

<sup>72</sup> "Zeitgeist" obviously is a historian's idea, and as such it is of Roman coinage. J. M. C. Toynbee pointed out that Tacitus called the "spirit of the times" the "saeculum;" *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge 1934) 239. One may add that after the time of Hadrian the saeculum personified, in the form of a Genius Saeculi, actually appears in the representations of art; v. the silver platter from Parabiago, as explained by this writer, *AA* (1935) 522 ff. To translate "Volksgeist" into Latin may prove more difficult. It seems a modern idea. There is of course a Genius populi Romani, but this personification hardly embodies the same meaning as the modern French eighteenth century concept of *génie national*. A. Grenier used the latter concept in his book, *Le génie romain dans la religion, la pensée et l'art* (Paris 1925); v. the explanation given by his editor, H. Berr, *op. cit.*, VI n. 1. V. *infra*, n. 91.

<sup>73</sup> A representative statement of this principle is found in F. Matz, "Das Kunstgewerbe Alt-Italiens," (E. Bossert, *Geschichte d. Kunstgewerbes aller Zeiten und Völker*, 1) (Berlin 1928) 202. Style in art is the exponent of either a personal or a national-psychological ("völkerpsychologischen") disposition. "Therefore as a rule the migration of a stylistic peculiarity (Stilphänomen) in this sense depends, as on its condition, on the migration of an integrated national body (*geschlossenen Volkskörpers*) and viceversa." (Translation by the author).

The new theory could but intensify the search for a single and unifying, stylistic principle in Roman art. It demanded a radical distinction between Roman and Hellenistic elements, and it evaluated highly those symptoms which in historical Roman art could be claimed as native (*bodenständig*, "homegrown") to the Roman or Italian territories.<sup>74</sup> That the constituent principle of any national art must be a native quality of local artists and not due to foreign influences was now considered a requirement *a priori*. In the aboriginal purity of its distinctive stylistic intent rests that spiritual autonomy which the new criticism ascribes to every national art. As an exclusive principle in this sense the representation of space was declared proper to Roman art.<sup>75</sup>

Thus, in spite of previous warnings by Strykowski and others, the Roman reliefs were once more recommended as a testing ground on which to prove the "Romanitas" of Roman art. But the result, this time, must seem frankly disconcerting. In the first place, the experience of space is generally human and its expression a fundamental problem of all art. Therefore it is from the outset unlikely that concern with space was in antiquity the exclusive characteristic of only one art, the Roman. At least in this unqualified form, the proposed antithesis between spatial (Roman) and non-spatial (Greek) representations cannot be right. Secondly, this theoretical contrast is by no means evident in the monuments. One cannot even assert that from the flat reliefs and paintings of Egyptian art the space problem is entirely absent. It would be more correct to say that Egyptian pictorial representations suppress or exclude the rendition of space, in order better to adjust the forms of objects to the pictorial medium, the plane surface. Greek artists were still less willing to disregard the experience of space. Far from excluding it from representation, they invented two devices which definitely possess a spatial significance: the oblique representation of figures and objects and optical foreshortening. Consequently, they introduced the problem of space into the active practice of western art. The question can only be how far they carried it.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Sieveking, *op. cit.*, 35, concerning Augustan art, which includes "a native Italic stratum (*bodenständige italische Schicht*)" of spatial representation; v. Weickert, "Gladiatoren-Relief," 38.

<sup>75</sup> The thesis of the non-spatial character of Greek in contrast to Roman art was first put forward by G. Rodenwaldt, who soon abandoned it. V. the informative review of Sieveking's and Weickert's theories by F. Koepp, in *GöttNachr* (1926) 337.

<sup>76</sup> A critical review of modern research dealing with this question may begin with the study by A. della Seta, "La genesi dello scorcio nell'arte greca," *Mem. Linc.* 12 (1906) 122 ff. Della Seta correctly observed the Greek origin and basic importance of *scorcio* (foreshortening) and *obliquità* (oblique representation) as means of spatial expression. For an immediate and still interesting reaction to his essay, cf. E. Strong, *CR* 21 (1907), 209 ff. Other critical objections to the modern thesis that "space" is an innovation of Roman art: *supra*, n. 75. Perspective in Roman art: *infra*, n. 78; for the concept of frontality, v. the following pages.

On the other hand, the latter question must also be considered with regard to Roman art. The visual evidence – our only criterion in such matters – does not favor the idea that the reliefs of the Ara Pacis represent “unlimited depth of space,”<sup>77</sup> and one must ask with Riegl whether such a concept was not beyond the reach of ancient art altogether. Wickhoff compared the effect of certain Roman reliefs to the airy effect of paintings by Velasquez. However, let us compare Velasquez’ “Surrender of Breda” with the “Surrender of the Dacians” from the column of Trajan. In either case the embattled town lies in the background, but where is the “unlimited depth of space”? It is certainly not found in the Roman work. There is a difference not only of degree but of principle between these representations, the difference between “ancient” and “modern,” which Riegl had upheld against Wickhoff.<sup>78</sup> A history of spatial representation, which ascribes nothing to Greek art and gives everything to Roman art, is bound to err in both directions.

This is not to deny that a characteristic attitude towards space can be identified in many, or perhaps all, Roman reliefs. The legitimate question can only be, what is special to the Roman attitude towards space? The claim that a concern with space is innate in Roman art and not found in Greek not only seems a curious exaggeration. It actually reverses the facts; Greek art exhibited a sense of space long before Roman.

Nevertheless the two essays by Weickert and Sieveking constitute a considerable progress of knowledge; the new phase of Roman studies owes much to them. It should be emphasized that during the past decades our grasp of the realities of Roman monuments has become much firmer than before, and that the progress is due to archaeological research of this kind. The investigations of Roman art prior to Augustus by Weickert and the reexamination of the Roman reliefs by Sieveking give a more consistent and realistic idea of the subject than their predecessors could afford. The reason is to be found in the greater number of monuments included and a more critical insistence on their relative and absolute chronology. At least in its general outlines the chronological sequence of the Roman reliefs as suggested by Sieveking has proved acceptable.<sup>79</sup> His concept of a certain dualism in Roman art, too, seems consistent with the facts and can even be accepted by those who would not accept

<sup>77</sup> Weickert, “Gladiatoren-Relief,” 38: “the penetration into space and unlimited depth (*Eindringen in unbegrenzte Raumtiefe*) is common to all the reliefs of the Ara Pacis and distinguishes them from all Greek works . . .”.

<sup>78</sup> *Kunstindustrie*, 60 ff. Perspective in ancient art and the ancient representation of limited depth: v. *infra*, 39 f. The survey of recent research in M. S. Bunim, *Space in Medieval Painting* (New York 1940) 22 ff., can serve as a starting point for further studies.

<sup>79</sup> For instance, J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge 1934) xxviii ff.

his use of the terms "Greek" and "Roman" as distinctive, stylistic labels. Thus the reader is left with a peculiar impression. He deals with the apparent paradox of a scholarly method which has led to objective and, at times, acute observations of detail but has proved strangely prejudiced in matters of principle. Yet the principle in question, the representation of space in Greek and Roman art, cannot be a matter of speculation. It concerns a visible quality of art and consequently something to be actually seen, not merely surmised, in the works which possess it. One might expect that the question, whether or not a relief or painting shows space, can always be settled by consulting the monuments. That it was not so settled but became controversial in the modern appreciation of classical art is in itself a curious fact. Here appears a dilemma whose impact is still felt in the present state of Roman studies.

An interesting methodological factor must be mentioned here, because it contributed to this situation. If one follows the literature on Roman art during the first three decades of our century, a gradual change of meaning can be observed in the technical terms which refer to space. These terms acquired much prominence in the discussion; yet, while gaining in popularity, they became less precise. They degenerated, as it were.

The change, apparently, went quite unnoticed. To proclaim spatial representation as the intrinsic (national) characteristic of Roman art was from the start neither a natural nor a judicious choice, not because space does not play a sufficiently important role in Roman art but because the interest in space is not exclusively Roman. Obviously the choice was made under the influence of the earlier theory of Wickhoff. But Wickhoff's theory was one of evolution. The development, as he saw it, proceeded from limited to free space. Greek art had already reached the former stage, while the last was attained only by the Romans. The errors involved in this theory need not be discussed here. It is not superfluous, however, to point out that space was thereby introduced as a principle in evolution and not as the exclusive badge of Roman art. Insofar as Wickhoff thought of the "illusionistic" attitude as an originally Italic tendency which enabled the Romans to develop space representation to its fullest, he paved the way for a nationalistic interpretation of Roman art. But in claiming space itself, not "illusionism", as the characteristic of Roman art, the later writers obviously over-simplified his theory, against the evidence of the monuments.

Riegl, too, thought in terms of a universal evolution. He called attention to the gradual formation, in ancient paintings and reliefs, of a separate foreground plane which forces the eye to imagine the ground behind it, i. e. the material ground, as "space." By the end of the Roman period pictorial practice had completed the separation of the two grounds; this development formed the essential content of the Roman "Reichskunst" or Empire art. Again, neither the defects nor the astuteness of Riegl's observation are here at issue. We should notice, however, that this fundamental development of spatial vision was localized in two well definable, structural elements of pictorial composition. Riegl described a gradual change of emphasis from the material ground – the "neutral" ground of earlier reliefs – to the optical plane which forms a "foreground," because we recognize space behind it. In other words, he envisaged a change as precisely defined as that which, in music, led from the Gregorian *organum* with its emphasis on the stable "cantus firmus" to the Renaissance *canzone* with its subordinated accompaniment. He thought of this evolution as an objective and always controllable process and demonstrated it by way of concrete factors which create spatial illusion in a painting or relief.

In the subsequent discussions this precision was lost. One probably does not go wrong in assuming that with most later writers, including Sieveking and Weickert, "space" generally refers to illusionistic representations. Yet no need was felt for more specific definitions nor for a clear differentiation between the aims of Roman art regarding space and modern, naturalistic portrayal of spatial effects. This lack of precision is confusing.<sup>80</sup> While the experience of space is always the same, its renditions vary. In ancient art, both pre-classical and classical, spatial devices are sometimes found, which are decidedly not naturalistic in the modern sense. Nevertheless, they may have conveyed a full spatial experience to their makers and contemporaries. In the absence of an objective distinction between the various kinds and degrees of spatial representation the danger is that the attribute "space" becomes arbitrarily assigned to one kind of representation only and denied to others. It is a tendency of the modern, nineteenth century naturalism to acknowledge space only in the "photographic" rendition of depth. This circumstance may at least partly explain the subjective verdict of those who deny all spatial intentions in Greek art.

A similar, involuntary though consequential, distortion of meaning occurred with the term frontality. This term was originally coined by J. Lange, and soon became common in the discussion of ancient art.<sup>81</sup> Riegl adopted it. The enthroned emperor in the Constantinian reliefs from the Arch of Constantine reminded him of J. Lange's "law of frontality" (*Kunstindustrie*, 47); he also applied the term to Constantinian portraits (109). These observations received a new slant, however, in his discussion of the diptych of Felix, in which he found the rigidity of ancient-oriental and Greek archaic frontality "restored" (114). It is the latter expression which proved confusing. The "law of frontality," as formulated by Lange, pertains to Egyptian statues in the round, and in all other pre-classical styles where this formal systematization of the human figure was used it remained distinctive of statuary. It was not characteristic of reliefs or paintings, in which, on the contrary, frontal figures were much the exception. Therefore it was incorrect to say that in the Felix diptych, which is a relief, frontality was "restored."

Riegl, himself, stated the case more correctly in his chapter on painting. Late Roman primitivism was not the return to an ancient, pre-classical principle of art; it was something new. In late classical and Byzantine reliefs and paintings, the human form became "typified in a facing position, just as once with the Egyptians figures were typified in side views" (130). The distinction between representations in the round and in the plane, though fundamental, is commonly disregarded in the subsequent discussions of frontality. The resulting errors become clear in statements like the one by Mrs. Strong that Greek art in compositions involving more than one figure "had never entirely freed itself from the trammels of 'frontality,' and consequently failed to apprehend or convey the relations of objects to one another in space" (*Roman Sculpture*, 20). This assertion is, of course, not at all in agreement with the monuments. The chief characteristic of Greek classical and Hellenistic figures is not frontality but the three-quarter pose

<sup>80</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 177 and n. 3, concerning the alleged contrast of spatial representation in the Niobid sarcophagus of the Lateran, and the one in Venice: "I must confess that in my own case a comparison of the Lateran Niobid sarcophagus with the Venice version of the same subject (Sieveking's fig. 4) is very far from making 'die prinzipiellen Unterschiede sofort klar, so dass keine weiteren Worte darüber nötig sind.'"

<sup>81</sup> J. Lange, "Gesetze der Menschendarstellung in der primitiven Kunst aller Völker und insbesondere in der ägyptischen Kunst"; a summary of the first part of this essay (first published in 1892) is reprinted in J. Lange, *Darstellung des Menschen in der älteren griechischen Kunst*, ed. by C. Jørgensen and A. Furtwängler (Strassbourg 1899) XII ff.

of the heads.<sup>82</sup> The ultimate replacement of that pose by a full-face frontality may, with Morey, be called a turn towards primitivism. But here again we must make an exception. At least in the eastern Mediterranean area, this type of pictorial representation constitutes a post-classical, not a pre-Hellenic, form of primitivism.<sup>83</sup> In paintings and reliefs the Byzantine preference for facing figures was not a restoration but an innovation.

#### THE PRESENT: TWO APPROACHES TO ROMAN ART

By now we have described almost all the methods and ideas which have become basic to research on Roman art in its present state. We may deal more briefly with the following literature. In the very active research after 1926 one is not likely to meet many basic concepts which cannot be readily understood as the natural consequences, or variations, of those already explained.

The thesis that concern with space was an "Italic" or "Latin" characteristic after Sieveking found few adherents.<sup>84</sup> In direct opposition to it, A. Schober not only stressed the sense of sculptural roundness and spatial depth in Hellenistic reliefs, but maintained that precisely the opposite qualities were those of the Italic style. Far from favoring spatial effects, the genuine Italian preference was really for flat and linear representations.<sup>85</sup> About the same time G. A. S. Snijder too claimed plastic roundness as intrinsically Greek and linear representation as Roman. By way of this contrast he presented the development of Roman art as the gradual liberation of a native, linear style from foreign, Greek influence. The linear style during the early empire survived as "folk art" but came into its own after Hadrian.<sup>86</sup> The same idea, that late imperial art was more genuinely "Roman" than the art of the early Empire, can be found in other writers of the nineteen twenties (v. *supra*, 35).

<sup>82</sup> Mrs. Strong later described the contrast between classical and late-classical composition more correctly. It is the "union of centrality or convergence with frontality which distinguishes Roman from Greek composition in relief," *Apotheosis and Afterlife* 36. Meantime, however, the idea that late classical art "returned" to frontality has taken hold of modern criticism. A comparatively recent example is found in E. Buschor, *Die Plastik der Griechen* (Berlin 1936-37); cf. R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Critica d'arte* 3 (1937) 278.

<sup>83</sup> The return of frontality in Constantinian art was (after Riegl) extensively discussed in A. Schmarsow, *Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft* (Leipzig and Berlin 1905). Cf. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, 26 f.

<sup>84</sup> For instance, C. C. van Essen, "Notes sur quelques sculptures de Delphes," *BCH* 52 (1928) 231 ff., classified the frieze from the monument of L. Aemilius Paulus at Delphi as "Latin" because of its spatial quality.

<sup>85</sup> A. Schober, "Vom griechischen zum römischen Relief," *JOAI* 27 (1931) 46 ff.

<sup>86</sup> G. A. S. Snijder, *Romeinsche Kunstgeschiedenis* (Groningen 1925). The same author, "Der Trajansbogen in Benevent," *JOAI* 41 (1926) 94 ff.

It is obvious that these theories not only oppose but exclude each other. We shall not, however, conclude that therefore only one can be right, and that Roman art must be either "flat" or "spatial." Nor shall we say that the concepts themselves are necessarily discredited by these contradictory results, or that they have proved unsuited for the objective analysis of works of art. This controversy merely illustrates our previous statement, that the term "space" is too general for the effective investigation of Roman art. What must take place, instead, is an investigation of the various specific devices which express spatial experience in ancient art.

Indeed the need for differentiations within the general concept of "space" was soon felt and, at least once, expressly formulated.<sup>87</sup> But even when this need was recognized, the greater difficulty at this stage of the discussion arose from the belief that Roman art must differ from others by some special, formal principle and not merely by changes of time or subject-matter. As a principle of this sort, to prove the originality of Roman art, "space" had been tried and failed. No more could "linear representation" be limited to Roman art alone. In a somewhat earlier article A. Schober correctly observed that linear styles were indeed characteristic of all the provincial arts practiced along the edges of the Empire. Accordingly it seemed as if the genuine Roman style, being "flat" and "linear," was carried to its victory by the "increasing influx of foreign blood" – Germanic and Oriental – at the time of the internal dissolution of the Empire: not a plausible reconstruction of Roman history.<sup>88</sup>

A general remark seems here in order. However much these interpretations contradict each other, they have a common starting point. They all belong to one methodological category. With a theoretical rigidity which often makes their classifications seem wilful and pedantic all these studies attribute the exclusive use of an artistic style to a single ethnical group. They rely, however tacitly, on the assumption of innate and immutable national characters. As we stated before, this is the principle of nationalistic art criticism. But it is difficult, if at all possible, on this basis to account for the cultural changes of the ancient world. If national characters are imagined as so permanent that each represents a distinct and stable cultural trend, then a change of ethnical elements is indeed the only explanation of cultural and artistic changes. New styles of art must come from new races of people.<sup>89</sup> In reality, this assumption is quite uncertain. Thus far all attempts at distinguishing between definite national or racial styles in Italy – Etruscan, Latin or Roman – have produced mere theoretical fictions. The ethnical conditions of the peninsula neither explain the stylistic changes nor all the local differences in the arts of ancient Italy.

About this problem more will have to be said later on, but one other relevant point must be mentioned here. In surveying the stylistic descriptions and the deductions drawn from them in this group of literature, one cannot help noticing that the esthetic evaluation of Roman art has remained very uncertain.

<sup>87</sup> F. Matz, *AA* (1932) 280 ff.

<sup>88</sup> A. Schober, "Zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der provinziäl-römischen Kunst," *JOAI* 26 (1930) 50 ff.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 73.

This factor adds another complicating element, especially to the study of late classical art. If one judges the anti-naturalistic style of the late Empire as a decline of art, then it is possible with Sieveking to arrive at the verdict that the "Roman" (illusionistic and naturalistic) substance was ultimately "dissolved" by foreign influences from the East. If on the other hand the late Roman style is viewed more sympathetically, it may be explained as the ultimate liberation of the native substance from foreign, classical influences.

These conflicting opinions by their very contrast show how arbitrary it is in the complex texture of Roman art to single out one element as more "Roman" than others. Nevertheless the efforts to define the elusive "Romanitas" continue.<sup>90</sup> In each case the quest is for the distinctive attributes of the Roman national character, postulated as a set of permanent traits, an inherited disposition or a quasi-personal development.<sup>91</sup> The assumption of a single, Roman principle of style remains characteristic of all these writings.

Having established the existence of this group in modern Roman scholarship, we must now turn to its opponents. The phil-Hellenic interpretation, to call it so, still constitutes another important trend in the Roman controversy. It leads to a different, if not new, theory of Roman art. Fundamentally, it represents the modern continuation of Winckelmann's verdict that there is not a Roman art but only a Greek art under the Romans.

As we saw, this theory originally implied a negative esthetic evaluation of Roman art. Winckelmann felt very strongly the loss which occurred with the transition from Greek classical to Roman art. The change, indeed, was a radical one. It involved basic intentions, indeed the very scope, of art, for the nature and function of form in art were re-defined under the Romans. Here we must recall another circumstance which regards modern criticism. The common neo-classic taste, which developed during the eighteenth century, in general promoted a rather one-sided appreciation of Greek art. The ill-defined yet hard-dying slogan of the "idealism" of Greek art is one of its results. Another is the misapprehension of Greek art as an example of naturalistic representation.<sup>92</sup> A naturalistic component undoubtedly existed in Greek art, although

<sup>90</sup> V. Mrs. E. Strong, "Romanità through the Ages," *JRS* 29 (1939) 137 ff., and J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The Italian Element in Late Roman and Early Medieval Architecture," *Annual Italian Lecture of the British Academy in Rome* (London 1947) 5 and 22 n. 8.

<sup>91</sup> For the latter opinion v. A. Grenier, *Le Génie romain dans la religion, la pensée et l'art* (Paris 1925) and his conclusions, 462 ff. This book has a wider scope than the investigation of art alone. It aims at a cultural and spiritual definition of Roman national attitudes. With regard to the formative arts, Grenier follows the line of strictest phil-Hellenism: there is no Roman style, only a Roman content, of art (463).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. C. Seltman, *Approach to Greek Art* (London and New York 1948) and my review in *Magazine of Art*, October 1949, 233.

its meaning and intensity were not the same at all stages of its history. Neo-classic theory and practice felt much attracted to this aspect, which they interpreted in terms of the scientific naturalism which inaugurated the art of the nineteenth century: witness the Greek revival in the paintings from David to Ingres. Thus was formed the criterion of "beauty and animation," the formula in which Riegl summarized the popular interest in art at his own time (v. *supra*, 24). "Animation" can, of course, mean many things, but here the term certainly expresses the demand for naturalistic representation in the modern, scientific sense.

This trend has not yet run out. For instance, whenever someone blames the reliefs from the columns of Trajan for their lack of perspective or faulty perspective, he is apt from the modern point of view to judge them in a doubly negative way. He may appraise them as the obvious decline of those earlier classical traditions, which to the modern naturalistic taste give less offense, and thereby judge them not as examples of a Roman art in its own right but as inferior specimens of Greek art.

Therefore, likewise since Winckelmann, with the negative criticism often went a denial of the originality of Roman art. Yet, while the first problem may be held in abeyance as a question of personal taste, the second cannot be so treated. The originality of Roman art poses a genuine and objective question of the history of art. Even the "phil-Hellenic" interpretation could not always ignore it.

In France, the homeland of neo-classic theories, a compromise solution was proposed by E. Courbaud in 1899. In his treatise on the Roman historical reliefs from Augustus to Hadrian Courbaud found that the style of these works is Greek but the content Roman. At the same time his criticism of the reliefs as works of art is often negative; it includes the "naturalistic" objections mentioned above against the column of Trajan.<sup>93</sup>

This interpretation reflects the change of general attitude towards Roman art after 1900 (*supra*, 28). About that time the originality, rather than the existence, of Roman art became the embattled issue. (Cf. the remark of Mrs. Strong, quoted previously, p. 29). Winckelmann labeled Hellenistic and Roman art the period of the "imitators," unable to produce a Roman style because it lacked inventiveness and original ideas. Around 1900 the Roman monuments were generally viewed as a coherent group and not merely as isolated works of art. In this way the existence of Roman art could be recognized even by those who held a low opinion of its esthetic value.

The criticism that Roman art falls short of classical Greek or modern naturalistic standards or both can of course be raised at any time. The chapter called "Museum" in C. Seltman, *Approach to Greek Art* is a recent example

<sup>93</sup> E. Courbaud, *Le bas-relief romain à représentations historiques* (Paris 1899). Cf. E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 5 and note.

and at the same time almost a revival of Winckelmann's theoretical condemnation of Roman art.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, the critical value of a phil-Hellenic attitude showed itself in the opposition to exaggerations like the theory that "Roman" art discovered the rendition of space. Thus, in reviewing the article by Sieveking, F. Koepp could well perceive the errors following from the axiomatic assumption of a national "Roman" style. That the method recommended by himself was hardly more effective is another matter. Instead of asking what is Roman, we are invited to ask what is Greek in Roman art.<sup>95</sup> But do we know better what we mean by "Greek" as a quality of art in the Imperial period? Are the neo-classic reminiscences "Greek," which appear in Roman monuments like Greek quotations in a Latin poem? Are the Roman copies of classical works Greek art? And what, precisely, is "Greek" about the processions represented around the Ara Pacis Augustae? We might speak of Greek art in its Roman stage, and thereby describe most, if not all, Roman art after Augustus. But in adopting such parlance we beg the question. We indicate that this art is no longer "Greek" in a genuine and direct sense, that it is not really Greek. While substituting a more involved expression for a simpler one, we have gained nothing.

In such considerations it becomes quite clear that this entire controversy concerns a purely terminological question. Whether or not we call Roman art "Roman" would be of very minor importance, if it were not for the two theoretical principles involved: on the one side the axiom of a "Roman" national art, on the other side the esthetic evaluation of "Roman" as a deteriorated form of Greek art.

One other, more objective criterion bears on this question. The available evidence indicates that the majority of artists and craftsmen during the Roman epoch had Greek, not Latin names. This observation, already made by Strzygowski (*supra*, 30), was in 1926 demonstrated in greater detail by P. Gardner as an additional circumstance arguing against the originality of Roman art.<sup>96</sup>

One deals here with a sociological criterion which was undoubtedly symptomatic of the industrial organization in Rome as a whole.<sup>97</sup> Its specific impact on Roman art is difficult to

<sup>94</sup> V. *supra*, n. 92.

<sup>95</sup> F. Koepp, "Kritische Bemerkungen zum römischen Relief," *GöttNachr* (1926) 330.

<sup>96</sup> P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek Art* (Oxford 1926), chapter on "Art under Roman Rule," 269 ff.

<sup>97</sup> Greek names occur frequently among the lower middle classes of Italy (artisans, owners of small shops and workshops, physicians, teachers etc.). The reason was the system of production through low-paid workers, imported slaves and freedmen, which formed the basis of Roman society during the Empire. In the cities these people formed a common element, but there is no indication during the first and second centuries A. D. that they were in a position to maintain distinct cultural traditions of their own. We must assume that they were quickly Romanized. It seems throughout that they spoke Latin; many could write it. What distinguished them from the higher classes – not all native Italians either – was not a cultural tradition different from the

assess. At various times of the Republic artists from Greece and South Italy are known to have moved to Rome, as did other artisans and intellectuals, especially during the Hellenistic period. Men like Apollonios of Athens must indeed be regarded as Greek artists, just as Michelangelo was a Florentine artist even though working in Rome. But the Greeks and other Easterners who worked in Rome during the Empire present a different problem. They did not bring with them an important cultural tradition, but merely the skill which they put to use for the public of Rome. Here an historical factor comes into play which later will require more attention, namely the formation of cultural centers. The Hellenistic artists of the first century B. C. still transplanted into Rome something which she did not herself possess and which their own homelands possessed. A hundred years later conditions have changed. The Roman market still absorbed foreign specialties like Alexandrian silverware. But we know of no sculptural school abroad which could provide Rome with something superior to what she herself was then able to produce. Rome had become a center, towards which in turn others gravitated.

Therefore, if one wishes to assess the Greek share in Roman art, a distinction is needed between elements incorporated from earlier (Classical) and those from coeval sources. The contribution of Classical and Hellenistic Greek standards to Roman civilization is one thing, the contribution of foreign artists to Imperial art in Rome another. The latter is far from obvious and calls for renewed study. There is a limit beyond which it does not seem practical to call the works of artists with Greek names Greek art. The paintings of El Greco are beyond this limit; so is the Ara Pacis. It is not unreasonable to assume that Greeks worked on the Ara Pacis and other Imperial monuments, but to label their work Greek art invites comparison with incommensurable objects, like the Parthenon or the Telephos frieze from Pergamon. Such comparisons have indeed frequently been made, P. Gardner's book forming no exception in this regard. Only two relevant points have really become evident by them. The esthetic comparison, more often than not unfavourable to the Roman monuments, shows that works like the Ara Pacis are no longer Greek in the sense in which the Parthenon or the Telephos-frieze constituted Greek art. Secondly, coeval Greek works comparable with the Ara Pacis and similar Roman monuments are lacking. In other words, ancient art has moved into a new phase, undoubtedly with the cooperation of the Greeks. But in order conveniently to refer to this new stage, characterized by a style different from the preceding stages, a term other than "Greek" seems required.

The next step in the "phil-Hellenic" direction is marked by the book by Miss Toynbee called "The Hadrianic School."<sup>98</sup> The sub-title reveals its general trend: "A Chapter in the History of Greek Art." Aside from the theoretical bias, this is one of the soundest books on Roman art among recent publications. Its scope is limited to an investigation of two classes of monuments representative of art under Hadrian: the representation of provinces, mostly on coins, and the sarcophagi and other funeral reliefs datable to the reign of Hadrian.

"Roman," but their low educational standards. Cf. M. L. Gordon, "The Nationality of Slaves under the Early Empire," *JRS* 14 (1924) 93 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *A Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1926) 178. For more recent discussions, cf. D. Levi, *Annuario* 24-26 (1950) 232 f., and especially J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*, Collection Latomus (Brussels 1951).

<sup>98</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge 1934).

By this selection Miss Toynbee wishes to state a significant contrast between official and private art. Characteristic of the former are political allegories. These constitute indeed one of the peculiar features of Roman Imperial art. If one recalls the popularity of allegories in Medieval and Renaissance art as a vehicle for the expression of abstract content, the importance of the matter becomes at once evident. Miss Toynbee does not attempt to credit this device to any one ancient school, either Roman or Alexandrian, but seeks its origin in common Greek art. In this assumption she is probably right, notwithstanding the fact that regional differences in the use of allegories can perhaps be identified in ancient art. Throughout, her book emphasizes the universal character of Imperial Roman art as the true successor of the Hellenistic. The introduction includes a valuable critical review of the contemporaneous, nationalistic interpretation of Roman art (xiii ff).

Miss Toynbee herself champions the opposite interpretation, which we traced back to Winckelmann. There is no Roman art; "art under the Empire may be described as Greek art in the service of the Imperial idea" (xx). In other passages her concept seems more akin to Riegl's. "What we are accustomed to term 'Roman' art is not the art of the Roman people or of the Roman race, or Greek art under the Romans: it is Greek art in the Imperial phase; or, more concisely, Imperial art" (xiii; cf. Riegl's term "Reichskunst"). Therefore it seems to her "*not* strictly accurate to describe Hadrianic art as a 'Greek revival'" (xxi). Greek art never died; therefore it was not "revived" under Hadrian. This opinion explains the tendentious subtitle, which also squares with the opinion of P. Gardner. Yet at the same time, Miss Toynbee detaches herself from the classicistic condemnation of late Roman art as a mere period of decline (239).

The crux of this thesis lies in the difficulty of demonstrating the incessant flow of Greek art from the last century before Christ to the Hadrianic, neo-classic episode. This problem was not solved. On the other hand, it is the greatest merit of Miss Toynbee's book to recognize a continuity between Greek and Roman art (xx). She thereby renewed Riegl's call for a universalistic theory of Roman art. In this methodological demand, rather than in a mere dispute over terminology, indeed, rests the essential usefulness of all those interpretations of Roman art which for the sake of explanation are here classified as "phil-Hellenic."

At this point it becomes evident that the relation between Greek and Roman art can be explained in three possible ways. It can be stipulated as a strict contrast. This is the hypothesis of "nationalistic" theories, which, however, too often "draw unreal distinctions" (xx) between the two arts. It is certainly a modern anachronism to ascribe to the Romans a "resistance" to Greek art in order to preserve intact a special national style (xiii). Secondly, the relation between Greek and Roman art can be stated as one of complete identity by denying any basic distinction between them. In that case one assumes that "Roman" merely constitutes an advanced, or deteriorated, form of "Greek" art, as the case may be. This interpretation leads to the terminological deadlock explained above. Finally, the relation can be stated as a continuity. Of these three possible explanations, the first and second are entirely based on stylistic judgment. The third allows for a degree of factual, historical control in addition to the stylistic evaluation. "Continuity" is a historical term. It must result from actual circumstances, wherever it is found. If one assumes a continuity between Greek and Roman art, it becomes both necessary and meaningful to ask how, in reality, this continuity was brought about.

A small number of other publications may be conveniently attached to this group because they deal with Roman art under the same aspect, the continuity of the classical evolution. This is definitely the case of the book by C. R. Morey on "Early Christian Art," which we have mentioned before.<sup>99</sup> Again the subtitle announces the methodological program: "An Outline of the Evolution of Style and Iconography in Sculpture and Painting from Antiquity to the Eighth Century." In essence this was also the program of Riegl, but there are significant differences in the execution. Morey's demonstration relies less than Riegl's – less, also, than one might expect from its title – on the pure reconstruction of stylistic development. The acuteness and ingenuity of stylistic distinctions, which one finds in Riegl, are not the business of Morey. Instead he offers an attempt at describing the continuity of ancient art as a pragmatic history with an eye to the practical circumstances in which that art was created and distributed. Most important, this book calls for a consideration not of stylistic trends alone but of their actual, geographical centers. In a field of study as heavily burdened with theory as Roman art, every turn to historical realism must be welcome. The concept of cultural centers is one that makes such an approach possible.<sup>100</sup> As yet it is little explored; we shall have to deal with this idea more fully in the future.

Development in separate centers, as during the Renaissance, was a characteristic of Hellenistic art. Most cities in which these centers were located continued under the Empire, e. g. Athens, Rhodes, Alexandria and others. It seems natural to look to these places first, if one examines the conditions for a continuous evolution of art from Hellenistic to early Christian times. Unfortunately the local evidence is far from clear. During the Empire some of the old centers went out of production (e. g. Rhodes), though the cities remained, while new centers formed. Thus after Constantine the great cities of the world, the cultural centers, were Rome, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople (*Early Christian Art*, 8).

During the Empire Athens still functioned as a center of art, which also affected the provinces of Asia Minor with its conservative, "neo-Attic" taste. One chapter in Morey is dedicated to this trend (17 ff.). Antioch was a newcomer. It became a center, at least of distribution, during the second century A. D. Yet its art, now better known to us through the recent excavations, remained generally Greek and Hellenistic and shows no distinctive style (30 ff.). Alexandria, on the other hand, probably remained an active center at all times. Morey tentatively ascribes to this city the survival of the progressive trends in Hellenistic art, especially painting (37 ff.), although thus far there is very little local material on which to base this judgment (38).<sup>101</sup> Finally Constantinople became a center through imperial favour, but not before a time which lies beyond the life-span of Roman art proper.

<sup>99</sup> C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art* (Princeton 1942).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. the note on Strzygowski, *supra*, n. 59.

<sup>101</sup> The arguments *pro* and *contra* an "Alexandrian" style of art were recently outlined by D. Levi, *op. cit.* (*supra*: n. 97) 293 ff., n. 1.

No place of comparable importance is assigned in this scheme to the first among Constantine's four world-cities, the city of Rome. In Morey's book Rome is not discussed as a possible center with a distinctive influence on the history of art. His concern is with the differentiation between the principal currents of Hellenistic art and their survival. Therefore, from his point of view the role of Rome appears as passive and receptive rather than active and central. Also, in this theory the esthetic evaluation of late classical art is mostly negative, pro-Hellenistic. The disintegration of the Hellenistic style in the East is credited to Iranian influence (34), in the West, to the action of a Latin trend replacing Hellenistic "representation" by piecemeal "description" (55 ff.). Thus in both halves of the ancient world, though in each for a different reason, the trend is regressive. In this respect the evolutionary scheme suggested by Morey is more "philhellenic" than that of Riegl. The latter was well aware that a degree of decomposition must follow in any art from a principle of "vision" which isolates forms instead of integrating them, but in his own theory he nevertheless perceived a progress from "normal," conceptual to empirical, "optical" representation.

The above reconstruction of Hellenistic-Roman continuity receives its bias from the unfavourable evaluation of the Roman part. It is obvious, however, that the historical assumption on which it rests, that of simultaneous evolution in separate centers, has a merit independent of this particular interpretation, and it is equally obvious that other interpretations of the same theory are possible. In fact, if one sets out to investigate the possible centers of artistic production after the Hellenistic era, it is difficult to see as a matter of method how the city of Rome can be omitted from consideration. No other metropolis of the Empire offers so much local material of such importance. Rome had its Hellenistic phase and its Imperial art both official and private; many monuments are still extant. Significant changes can be observed in this material, all of which seems indeed to point to a continuous local production over a considerable period – in short, a center.

Any investigation of Rome as a center – possibly only one center among others – brings a new historical and sociological concept to bear on the problems of Roman art. The methodological consequences of this idea have yet to be fully realized. Roman art so considered is not the spontaneous growth of a "native" style, not a national art with ultimately inexplicable though stable, because innate, characteristics. Neither is it a mere transition in a rational progress of universal art. Instead, in this conception Roman art is recognized as a cultural, not a biological, phenomenon, a product of tradition, not of inheritance. As the outcome of a unique historical situation it is itself unique. It appears inscribed within a set of definite conditions, growing from a limited locality rather late in history. As it grew, the impact of the past and foreign contacts acted upon that art in ascertainable ways. By and by the ancient city acquired the absorbing capacity and radiating force, which together constitute a cultural center. In the same way the earlier Hellenistic "schools" operated in centers which were formed either by special efforts (Pergamon, Alexandria) or characteristic political and economic constellations (Athens, Rhodes). Each time the process of formation involves precise and individual circumstances, such as the conflux of cultural trends, the collaboration and immigration of important artists, specific

purposes of art and similar factors. In Rome also concrete and objective evidence of this kind can be observed. A great deal of available information as well as monumental evidence recommends the study of Roman art as the creation, primarily, of a center located in Rome.

This idea, which rests on a concept of cultural history, has lately gained ground in the literature on Roman art, though its methodological implications have received only passing attention. Miss Toynbee briefly described in these terms the status of Rome at the start of the Imperial era.<sup>102</sup> More recently R. Bianchi-Bandinelli has given a similar account in somewhat greater detail of the transformation of Rome into an artistic center. From the first century before Christ onwards, the peculiar influence – really a provincialism of “taste” – of the new center is felt in and beyond Italy. This marks the beginning of “Roman” art.<sup>103</sup>

Emphasis on Rome, as the center and source of Roman art, is not, of course, compatible with the “phil-hellenic” interpretations from which this paragraph started. Here we are concerned to point out the common elements which these theories nevertheless possess. Common to all interpretations in this category, however divergent their evaluation of the “Roman” factor, is an idea of continuity and evolution.<sup>104</sup> “Greek” and “Roman” are not conceived as rigid opposites; a dynamic process, history, has somehow fused them in a continuous development. In this thought the Renaissance idea of a “classical” antiquity survives enriched by modern historical experience. Yet the idea of evolution, too, is a theoretical assumption. We do not know in reality what evolution is or means. It may mean quite different things; a tree develops differently from a financial crisis. What, then, developed in Roman art? How did it develop? And to what end?

Several of the familiar “Roman problems” come to the mind when these questions are asked. The origin of Roman art among the various provincial styles of early Italy is one such problem; the formation of a Hellenistic center in Rome, the motivation of its stylistic changes are others. Yet all these are comparatively detailed and special questions, however important. The question of paramount importance is the most general and most obvious of them all: how did the Classical, Hellenistic and Augustan tradition turn into the late Roman style with its symbolical formalism, emotional expressionism and indifference to distortion? This is the question which every theory of evolution (or decline) undertakes to answer before all others.

<sup>102</sup> *The Hadrianic School*, xx.

<sup>103</sup> R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, “Tradizione ellenistica e gusto romano nella pittura pompeiana,” *La Critica d'Arte* 6 (1941) 3 ff.; especially the final paragraph, 30 f. He is one of the few modern authors who explain their use of the term “Roman”: it should be employed as a convenient term of classification, referring to a historical period but without the connotation of an art exclusively Roman by origin. Cf. the similar but more explicit remark of Riegl, quoted above, n. 1.

<sup>104</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, xx: “Rather, we should see in that ancient art one continuous process of evolution, etc.”

It is also the most conspicuous question not yet answered among the Roman problems. This must seem a curious fact, because since the time of Winckelmann the question has been incessantly discussed, and there is no lack of material for study. Yet so far no agreement has been reached about the time or even period at which the late Roman or late classical style may be supposed to begin. We need only quote a few opinions of modern critics in order to recognize the symptomatic significance of this disagreement. Thus K. Lehmann detected the first precise signs of the late classical style in the column of Trajan.<sup>105</sup> His book, fundamental for its stylistic analysis, aligns itself with the present group of "universalistic" art histories because of its concept of a continuous, Hellenistic-Roman development. From this point of view the column of Trajan indeed appears as a decisive example of the transition from Hellenistic-Classical to late Classical habits of representation. On the other hand, M. Wegner, applying a similar analysis to the column of Marcus Aurelius, found in the latter the likely starting point of late Roman art.<sup>106</sup> Not far from his opinion is the conclusion of Miss Toynbee, who sees "in Hadrianic art the culmination of Imperial art." That is to say, in her view too the turning point of Roman art occurred after Trajan. It was really incorporated in the Janus-faced Hadrianic period, whose spirit "can be traced right on through the art of the later Roman Empire."<sup>107</sup> Yet C. R. Morey, himself no less concerned with the continuity of ancient art, in turn reached a completely different conclusion regarding this crucial chronological division. According to him the process of transformation, which led to the late Roman style, began during the age of the Flavians.<sup>108</sup>

These are four representative answers. Each can be supported with good reasons; none has proved strong enough to defeat the others. An interesting methodological remark can be made, however, if one reviews the grounds adduced for each of these contradictory statements. Naturally the explanation each time refers to certain stylistic details characteristic of the monument or monuments in question. Such details are the non-natural representation of spatial relations (columns of Marcus Aurelius, of Trajan), the preference for allegories (Hadrianic period), distortions for the sake of descriptive clarity (arch of Titus) and other similar peculiarities of representation. In themselves, all these observations are correct. But in almost every case one must doubt that a similar stylistic device cannot be found in other, earlier Roman or Hellenistic representations.

<sup>105</sup> K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule; ein römisches Kunstwerk am Beginn der Spätantike*, 2 vols. (text and plates) (Berlin and Leipzig 1926) 152 ff.

<sup>106</sup> M. Wegner, "Die Kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Marcussäule," *JDAI* 46 (1931) 61 ff.; especially 167 ff. and 173. This is also the opinion of D. Levi, *Annuario* 24-26 (1950) 262 ff.

<sup>107</sup> *The Hadrianic School*, 239.

<sup>108</sup> *Early Christian Art*, 50 f.

For instance, the use of superimposed objects to indicate spatial distance occurs in the Pergamene Telephos frieze as well as the column of Trajan. The result does not look quite the same in both instances, but the difference appears to be one of degree rather than of principle. And in that case, where is the real origin of this "late classical" device? Similar observations may be made with respect to most other details cited, for instance, the use of allegories. Actually the tendency already becomes apparent to date the turn towards such symbolical, non-naturalistic forms of representation to the early Empire rather than to any late period of decline (Morey).

Why is it so difficult to find a conclusive answer to this problem? Any picture book on Roman art proves that it is easy to recognize the late classical character, for instance, of the Constantinian reliefs in the Arch of Constantine. Likewise the non-Classical, anti-naturalistic forms of landscape and perspective in the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius are not difficult to perceive. If no other Roman monuments were known to us between these two works one would indeed judge them to be examples of a direct evolution of style. One would recognize the beginning of the new style in the time of Trajan, its progress in the time of Marcus and its further development in the Arch of Septimius Severus and beyond. Yet between the columns of Trajan and Marcus lies the period of Hadrian. For approximately fifty years, instead of a consistent development of "late Classical" representation, one finds a pseudo-Classical style of art. Similar interruptions of continuity separate the Flavian reliefs from those of Trajan. Moreover, the "late Classical" devices in the reliefs of the column of Trajan appear side by side with others that seem perfectly "Classical"; in many respects, one deals here with a mixed style of representation. Therefore the continuity, i. e. the unifying principle of development, is difficult to discover in the sequence of datable monuments of the Empire. There seems to be neither straight progress nor decline, only a variety of more or less changeable fashions. Once attention has been called to these irregularities the "late Roman" development in Imperial art becomes much more difficult to define. Ultimately, it becomes doubtful whether a theory of continuous evolution is at all suitable to account for the facts of Roman art.

#### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE FOREGOING THEORIES

All this previous research can now be considered as a whole. First, we should remark that this research constitutes a modern reaction to Roman art; it is not the Roman interpretation. The latter remains almost wholly unknown to us, nor is it likely that we shall ever know much about it. In this condition, which must be accepted as inevitable, lies the greatest difference between all modern investigations of Greek art on the one hand and of Roman on the other.

It is a fact of basic importance that the Greeks wrote their own history of art. At least from the early fifth century before Christ onward they possessed a developed theory of art, put down in writing; very likely they invented methodical art criticism. The Greek history as well as theory of art was accessible to the Romans. Important fragments of both types of writing have come down to us in Latin literature, e.g. in the books of Pliny and Vitruvius. From these sources the modern studies of Greek art received their direction. They derived from the ancient writers a basic catalogue of artists' names, a scheme of chronology and, in addition, certain critical evaluations of the works of these artists. Ancient criticism had already put these materials in an historical order, and Hellenistic writers described the development of Greek art.<sup>109</sup> The historiographical pattern has remained in effect ever since. A skeleton history of art can be gathered from these bits of information which is deplorably incomplete and in need of correction but whose evolutionary scheme can still be used. Other ancient, critical categories as yet have hardly been utilized. Despite the shortcomings of our sources, the Greek interpretation of Greek art is not altogether beyond our reach.

The study of Roman art has no comparable resources. The Romans, who cast their political history in so grand a form, apparently never wrote the history

<sup>109</sup> Fundamental, for the Greek conception of the history of art: B. Schweitzer, *Xenokrates von Athen* ("Schriften d. Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft" 9, fasc. 1, Königsberg i. Pr. 1932); additions by the same author, *Philologus* 89 (1934) 286 ff. More recently, about the Greek theories of art and their descriptive terms: S. Ferri, "Tendenza unitaria delle arti nella Grecia antica," *Atti R. Accademia di Palermo*, ser. 4, 2 (Palermo 1941); *MemLinc* 4 (1944) 1 ff. See M. Bieber, "Pliny and Graeco-Roman Art," *Latomus* (1949), and the useful survey in G. Becatti, *Arte e gusto negli scrittori Romani* (Florence 1951), 50 ff. The Greek theories of art require more attention than has been given to them. It is necessary to distinguish between professional criticism, philosophical theory (esthetics) and popular appreciation. Professional criticism was developed by artists and in artists' workshops, much as during the Italian Renaissance. From at least the early fifth century B. C. on, Greek artists possessed a definite critical vocabulary; works of art — statues, architecture and paintings — were described and criticized in abstract terms, such as "rhythm", "symmetry" etc. The meaning of these terms does not always coincide with modern usage. For instance, "symmetry" means a rational system of distances and proportions underlying the arrangements of parts in a statue or building; it does not signify equality of parts on either side of a middle axis as in modern languages. The precise significance of many terms has not yet been established. It seems likely, however, that most of them refer to qualities of form. The leading artists experimented with these systems of proportions and the resulting problems of form, creating thereby a progressive theory of formal criticism.

This was hardly possible without a written tradition, i. e. a professional literature. According to the ancient tradition, Pythagoras of Rhegium was the earliest artist who studied "rhythm and symmetry" (Diogenes Laertius, 8. 46). I assume this statement to mean that he first wrote on the subject. The most famous book of this kind was by Polycleitus, the "Kanon." This professional literature probably continued till Lysippus, but ended during the Hellenistic period; cf. *infra*, n. III.

of their art. Data on art and scattered names of artists occur occasionally in Roman historical and moralistic literature, but only as episodes. For instance, the notorious opposition to Hellenistic taste on the part of the elder Cato and his followers forms an episode of definite theoretical interest.<sup>110</sup> But isolated historical notes cannot make up for the lack of a methodical, professional history of art. A flareup of critical interests during the decades between Sulla and Augustus did not consolidate in a Latin literature on art.<sup>111</sup> Contemporary critical remarks about Roman artists and their works are extremely rare; the few which are preserved lack the precision found in Greek criticisms.<sup>112</sup> Nothing is known to us about artistic theories in the time of the Empire, which deal with the contemporaneous style or its development. It seems that the artists were no longer writers, as the Greeks had been, and that society held their vocation in such low esteem that a theoretical interest in their work did not develop or, at least, become articulate. There is no Roman theory of art.

Because of this circumstance the modern studies of Roman art are forced to draw on their own methodological and critical resources. They are left without guidance from the makers and the original public of that art. The few surviving names of Roman artists are not sufficient to provide a recognizable context of art history. The chronology of extant Roman works before Augustus is still very uncertain and Imperial art almost totally anonymous.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>110</sup> The "Catonian" attitude towards art constitutes an important trend in Roman thought, which marks the beginning of the complaints, often repeated since, that art not only "develops" but at times seems to "decline." The thought itself, no less than the terms in which it is expressed, differs from the characteristic professional terminology of Greek artists. It constitutes a case of popular, rather than professional, art criticism.

<sup>111</sup> Pliny makes the curious remark that after 296 B. C. art ceased to exist ("cessavit deinde ars," *N. H.*, 34. 52). This cannot mean that artistic production stopped, which obviously was not the case. Possibly the remark refers to the end of "art" in the sense of classical, formal theory (*ars* = Greek *σοφία*). If the latter explanation is correct, we must assume that after Lysippus theoretical discussions ceased to occupy the artists, or at least that treatises were no longer written on this subject. Neo-Attic art brought with it a temporary "revival" of these interests (after 156 B. C.; Pliny *N. H.* 34. 53). The entire passage, in Pliny, seems to reflect the opinions of Pasiteles who was himself an artist-writer and perhaps the last to summarize the ancient theories of form. Latest contribution to this problem: A. W. Lawrence, "Cessavit ars: turning points in Hellenistic sculpture," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Ch. Picard*, 2 (Paris 1949) 581 ff.

<sup>112</sup> Notes of social and anecdotal interest often take the place of professional criticism in Roman literature. Conspicuous is the one-sided preference for painting as the socially better respected art in contrast to sculpture, as e. g. in Pliny or Lucian; cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, "Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World," 1 ff.

<sup>113</sup> Fundamental, for the literary evidence of Roman art before the Empire: O. Vessberg, "Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der Römischen Republik," (*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom*, 8, Lund 1941). This new source book takes the place of the previously mentioned com-

Nor is any clue available to tell us how the ancients themselves might have written the history of Roman art under the Empire. The esthetics and the development of that art must be deduced directly from the monuments. Therefore the selection of Roman representative artists, masterworks or standards of criticism had to be improvised by modern students without the assistance of a previous selection made by the contemporaries or near-contemporaries. In its dealings with all these problems modern criticism is left to itself, to its own concepts and ingenuity. It is free, even to assert or negate the existence of a Roman art, as the case may be. Hence the essentially modern character of its categories but hence, also, its methodological controversies.

A second observation regards the present state of the theories which have been devised to meet this situation. The modern theories considered so far fall in with one of two basic approaches to Roman art. One bases itself on the hypothesis of a national Roman style, the other on the assumption of a continuous evolution of art. One is nationalistic; the other universalistic. In the former group the esthetic evaluation is generally favorable to Roman art. The verdict remains uncertain only with respect to late Roman art. If it is unfavorable, the question follows, what caused the disintegration of the Roman "substance"? In the second group Roman art either appears as the declining stage of Greek art, or it comes to be interpreted as the bridge between Hellenism and the Medieval styles and, consequently, as a progressive development. Again the choice depends on our esthetic judgment. Decline and progress are only two different aspects of the same phenomenon, change, experienced as evolution.

It was necessary to state these differences in order to establish the two categories. Now it must be pointed out however, that, in addition to the differences which separate them, both categories have an important assumption in common. For both theories aim at a definition of Roman art in terms of a single, distinctive principle. Their quest is either for a permanent principle of style, e. g. spatial representation, as characteristically "Roman" as groined

pilation by J. J. Winckelmann (*supra*, n. 26). So far no extant Roman monument of sculpture or painting has been identified with a work mentioned in these sources.

After the first century A. D. Roman literature grows more and more silent about contemporaneous art. Artists' signatures occur not rarely, but, without information about the lives and other exploits of these men, little more than a scanty sociological information can be divined from their mere names. In all essential respects their works remain anonymous art. The underlying sentiment is a critical attitude towards Hellenistic modernism, rather than Greek art as such. For source materials, v. H. Jucker, *Vom Verhältnis der Römer zur bildenden Kunst der Griechen* (Frankfort on the Main 1950) 57 f., 154 ff.

vaults and pointed arches are "Gothic," or for a leading principle of change, to explain the mutation from classical to late classical art. Of this type is Morey's assumption that Roman narrative realism destroyed the classical concept of composition, which possessed unity of time and space. The difference is that one approach requires a static principle, namely a lasting quality of national character, the other a dynamic principle, that is, a principle in evolution. In both cases theory stipulates a unifying, common denominator of all Roman art, a single "formative will." This being so, it must further be admitted that thus far the study of the monuments has not yielded a stylistic quality as universally and uniquely "Roman" as required by these theories. Yet, if such a principle were in existence, fifty years of research would probably have succeeded in naming it. Consequently there is every reason to conclude that such singleness of purpose was not the way of Roman art.

Although we reach here only a negative conclusion, it is nonetheless valuable. The very effort spent in these "monistic" theories without a convincing result makes it likely that their point cannot be proven. Thus in discarding them we really make a significant positive statement as well. If we say that the "formative will" of Roman art was not unified, we imply that it was diversified. So we begin to examine Roman art from a different viewpoint, looking for its diverse and contrasting aims according to time and circumstance. These aims have yet to be described, but their diversity already appears as something typical of Roman art. Like the assumption of a perennially unified "Roman" style, the continuous and unified evolution of Roman art reveals itself as a theoretical fiction not consistent with reality. Obviously concepts of this kind had to be invented in order to cope with the vast material, regarding which the Romans left so little documentary evidence. Research only became possible through these auxiliary theories and was constantly stimulated by their discussion. Yet in retrospect many of these ideas seem a detour, and the necessity of so much theoretical speculation in the literature on Roman art will often be felt as a cumbersome burden.

A remark is due here about the concept of evolution in art. There is no reason why we should assume a logical progress or development in any art. For instance in Egyptian art changes were severely limited by fundamental laws of representation, which remained stable for nearly three thousand years. The changes of style, which nevertheless occurred between the Old Kingdom and the Ptolomies, are not immediately recognized as a consistent "evolution." If there is reason to speak of a true evolution in some cases, e.g. in the early Renaissance or in Greek art, these should be regarded as special, because they do not represent a universal rule.

In Greek art, moreover, the evolutionary, that is, logically progressive, character of stylistic changes is more evident in some periods than in others. It is particularly characteristic of the Classical period from the early fifth to the end of the fourth century before

Christ. This is the period during which not only the Classical style but also Greek art-theory was created. A connection obviously exists between these two facts. The regular and consistent evolution of Greek art during that period did not occur accidentally but as a result of the equally consistent evolution of artistic theory. The artists worked on a limited set of clearly understood and consciously pursued problems of form and of representation; this consistency is reflected in their works. The resulting progress is so precise that by generally accepted archaeological practice undated works can often be placed within one decade of this evolution on purely stylistic grounds.

Yet during the Hellenistic period the development of Greek art became more irregular as its cultural conditions changed. The competition between the great centers at that time created a pattern of evolution different from the unity of interests and artistic standards which characterized the progress of Classical art. Hellenistic art cannot be so reliably dated to decades, in some cases not even to centuries.

Still less was the even progress of the Greek Classicism repeated in Roman art. The aims, the causes and the pace of stylistic changes in Roman art are much more difficult to determine. For instance, the stylistic differences between the battles of Trajan in the Arch of Constantine and the reliefs of the Ara Pacis Augustae do not impress themselves on the observer as so decisive that they can be named at once. Yet these two monuments originated 125 years apart. On the other hand, if one compares the same battle scenes with those on the Column of Trajan, which are contemporaneous, fundamental differences can immediately be seen. Obviously the pattern of stylistic changes in Roman art is totally different from the Classical Greek. It is neither continuous nor consistent, nor is it calculable as a theoretical, regular progress. Difference of style in undated Roman monuments does not always indicate a difference of time. It is therefore not possible to transfer to Roman art the method, developed in Greek archaeology, of dating monuments by gauging their likely place in a stylistic advance calculated by decades.

This condition must be recognized as symptomatic. It can only mean that certain concepts of evolution which apply to Greek art do not apply to Roman art. Lacking in the latter is the logical and almost rational character of the Greek development, the straight, methodical progress supported by a comparable development in theory. Characteristic of Roman art, rather, is a diversity of standards during one and the same period. Therefore the steps, pauses and unexpected turns of the evolution of art in Rome cannot be explained by a rational principle; they are not predictable. They must be ascertained in each single instance by factual research and analysis. Only their eventual outcome is securely known, the late Classical style.

#### DUALISTIC THEORIES OF ROMAN ART

On the basis of these conclusions it now becomes possible for us to explain the existence of a third methodological category in the modern literature on Roman art. In this group research is not concerned with the idea of a unified style as something indispensable for the definition of Roman art, nor with the hypothetical principle of a unified and continuous Hellenistic-Roman evolution. Instead, the primary concern of these studies is with the apparent, and sometimes disconcerting, stylistic diversity of the Roman monuments. In this respect, research merely follows practical experience. During the past two or three decades, with the vast increase of knowledge accruing from new and better

publications of the monuments, the importance of this approach has been steadily increasing.<sup>114</sup>

If one sets out to investigate the stylistic variety of Roman art rather than its stylistic unity, one deals with a set of questions not thus far considered here. The most obvious question is, how many different currents can be recognized in this manner? Most writers in our third category assume a dualism of style in Roman art. It seems to them that, instead of one single style, two different attitudes towards representation have found expression in the works of the Romans. Both attitudes are equally active though frequently in open contrast with each other. The interpretations based on this idea can be classified for the sake of explanation as the dualistic theories of Roman art.

The assumption of a dualistic theory of style raises still other questions no less important. For instance, what are the two trends which we believe present in Roman art? What is their origin? Is their contrast conditioned by definite, and still recognizable factors, and, if so, what are these factors? The answers given to these questions differ widely, so widely indeed, that an explanation of

<sup>114</sup> Details cannot be enumerated here; for the most recent research, v. the bibliography in K. Scheffold, *Orient, Hellas und Rom in der archäologischen Forschung seit 1939* (Bern 1949) 163 ff. Generally characteristic of the latest archaeological research in the field of Roman art is the progress of systematic projects dealing with entire classes of monuments. Important new catalogues of public and private collections have appeared during the past twenty five years, amongst them the last volumes of E. Espérandieu, *Récueil général des statues et bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, 13 vols. (Paris 1907-1949), the largest descriptive publication dedicated to Roman art. Another important innovation is the series *Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia* (Roma 1936-41) with excellent colour reproductions of Roman and Etruscan paintings, which can now be used along with the older publication by P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums* (continued by R. Herbig) (Munich 1904-1939).

One characteristic of this stage is the systematic investigation of Roman portraits, private and imperial, as a special group in art (L. Curtius, F. Poulsen). Another is the methodological examination of monuments which are typical of the last centuries of the empire: sarcophagi (G. Rodenwaldt), late Roman portraits (P. L'Orange), porphyry sculpture and Consular diptychs (R. Delbrueck). An important contribution to knowledge of Roman art was made by the recent monographs on architectural monuments with sculptured decorations in Rome (Arch of Constantine) and abroad (Arch of Galerius, Salonica).

Comparable methodological investigations of whole groups of monuments have been less frequent regarding the early art of Italy and Rome. In spite of all efforts made, this field of research still is handicapped by the fact that too much material has so far remained unpublished or insufficiently accessible. An outstanding recent achievement is the book by J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford 1947). Otherwise in this field, also, portraits have lately been in the foreground of interest (G. von Kaschnitz, O. Vessberg). Much has been done to clarify the chronology of Etruscan painting (F. Messerschmidt) and architectural terracottas (E. Van Buren, A. André). An important start has been made in the study of Etruscan sculpture (monograph on the so-called "Canopi" from Chiusi, by D. Levi, *Critica d'Arte*, 1 1935-36, 18 ff., 82 ff.; on Etruscan bronzes, by P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika*, Copenhagen 1941). Together, the mass of material assembled in these recent studies cannot fail at this point to give the study of Roman art a new and more realistic turn.

the different viewpoints seems here required. Like the two other approaches to Roman art, the dualistic interpretations also involve certain theoretical conceptions, which must be properly understood. To facilitate their understanding one may say that from this viewpoint Roman art is usually interpreted in one of three different ways. Either its dualism is assumed to be a conflict between rivalling styles, of which sometimes the one, sometimes the other prevails in alternating trends. Or the dualistic character is considered a constitutional trait of Roman art; the trends are parallel, simultaneous, permanently separate. Or thirdly, different modes of representation are employed according to purpose. In that case the trends are not necessarily limited to a dualism, and representational devices are easily transferred from one trend to others as the result of artistic choice. We shall first discuss the genuinely dualistic theories which assume two trends either alternating or running parallel in Roman art. The theories not limited to a dualistic interpretation must be considered separately in the following section.

Obviously in all theories of this type much depends on the definition of the factors which constitute the stylistic diversity or dualism. Furtwängler had already arrived at a dualistic explanation of pre-Roman, "Italic" art. The dualism noticed by him appears in the engraved gems with Latin inscriptions of the third and second centuries B.C. Among these monuments he discovered two currents in mutual opposition, which he called "pro-Etruscan" and "pro-Hellenic." He found that during the first century B.C. their contrast became gradually absorbed by a new style in which the Graecizing element prevailed.<sup>115</sup>

The germ of a dualistic theory can also be found in Wickhoff who thought of "Italic" art as a style in contrast with the (declining) Greek, with the result, however, that in Flavian "illusionism" the prevailing "Italic" element became the driving force of "Roman" art.<sup>116</sup>

Furtwängler's demonstration relied on his mastery of a vast source material, the engraved gems. He clearly recognized that the two trends observed by him corresponded with two cultural currents of Rome during the Hellenistic period, both equally Roman. His explanation really introduced a dualistic theory of Roman art. Wickhoff on the other hand, while affirming a similar contrast, recognized only one of the two constituent trends as "Italic" and "Roman". Therefore Sieveking and others who followed Wickhoff arrived

<sup>115</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig and Berlin 1900) 3 289 ff.; cf. *supra*, n. 48. The distinction, in the main, is still valid. The question is when and why this dichotomy of trends arose at all in Italian art. V. bibliography, *infra*, ns. 120-122 (Kaschnitz). A dualistic theory of early Etruscan art: G. Hanfmann, "The Origin of Etruscan Sculpture," *Critica d'arte*, 2 (1937) 158 ff.

<sup>116</sup> *Supra*, 23 ff.

at a theory of alternating trends in Roman art, but not really a dualistic theory. They assumed a conflict, not between two Roman currents but between a national and a foreign (Greek) artistic disposition. Thus in Sieveking's hypothetical scheme periods of a national trend in Roman art alternate with others characterized by the allegedly "Greek" aversion to the representation of space.<sup>117</sup>

Hardly enough attention has yet been paid to a more recent dualistic theory of Roman art briefly outlined some time ago by G. Rodenwaldt. It concerns the periodical revivals of classical styles peculiar to the Roman Empire.<sup>118</sup> In this case the opposing trends are not identified as "Greek" versus "Roman" art but as a classical tendency in contrast with non-classical tendencies. Thereby the "neo-classic" phenomenon comes to be recognized as a recurrent factor in Roman art with a significant background in Roman political and social history. The existence and importance of this factor cannot be denied. Whenever the classical trend comes to the fore, a new age thereby defines itself as the restoration of a great past. Yet each time the combination of ancient with more modern elements produces a different result, a new "Renaissance". This happened during the age of Augustus and again under Hadrian. Similar conditions led to the revival of both Greek classical and Augustan neo-classical ideas at the time of Gallienus, and later still, in more Byzantine forms, to the so-called Theodosian "Renaissance." The development from one revival-period to the other was not continuous; rather, these periods appear as isolated episodes of reaction to the non-classical trends that usually precede them. In this way the history of Roman art assumed its peculiar rhythm. Instead of a continuous evolution one discovers a progress by alternating trends related to one another like thesis and antithesis.

The merits of this theory are twofold. It underlines the importance of the neo-classic movements in Roman art, and it opens a possible access to their historical and psychological explanation. In a wider sense, neo-classic reactions had formed part of Western art ever since the classical style came into being. In Greek art of the fourth century B. C. a tendency to regard certain aspects of the preceding period as "classical" can already be noticed.<sup>119</sup> This tendency, following a late Hellenistic impulse, gained full strength in Roman art but did not end with it. The Italian "Renaissance" of the fifteenth century was only one conspicuous case among many similar, later "revivals." The alternation of classical with anti-classical trends remained characteristic of Western thought.

A doubt remains however whether in Roman art each subsequent "Renaissance" can be described as a unified stylistic period. Even during the reign of Augustus not every work of art was equally neo-classic. "Classical" and less "classical" periods indeed alternated in Roman

<sup>117</sup> *Supra*, 34 ff.

<sup>118</sup> G. Rodenwaldt, "Das Problem der Renaissance," *AA* (1931) 318 ff. A similar distinction between alternating "neo-classic" and "illusionistic" periods was adopted by F. Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei vom Untergang Pompejis bis ans Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1936).

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 320. Cf. this writer, *AJA* 53 (1949) 87.

art, but the rule of the former was never total. Often the two trends which produced this shift of styles only seem to alternate; they were in fact simultaneous. Also, the non-classical tendencies presumed by this theory stand in need of a clearer definition. But there is no doubt that the idea of periodical "restorations," meaning a renewal of pristine valour or prosperity or of a golden age, was a genuine and distinctive Roman thought. The ideology of the Empire leaned heavily on it from Augustus to Constantine and beyond.

One point is obvious. The classical "revivals" are typical of Empire art. Their antecedents in late republican art, if any, are as yet uncertain. But in no way can the "Renaissance" concept be valid or helpful in the description of periods which preceded the classical period of Greece. That these "Renaissances" revived already existing "classical" standards is of their essence. They represent one of the results of Greek classicism, not of Greek art in general.

Yet, in the art of Italy the advent of classicism after the middle of the fifth century before Christ was not the first complicating factor. The dualism of Italian art is older. It has prehistoric roots. All the much discussed contrasts in later Roman art, its antithetical opposites, such as "Etruscan-Hellenistic" (Furtwängler), "Greek-Roman" (Sieveking, Toynbee), "classical-anti-classical" (Rodenwaldt) and others, may well constitute the subsequent disguises or assumed forms of an original split between two artistic temperaments in Italy. In so stating the case we arrive at another interpretation of Roman art, that of G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg.

This important theory envisages as the essential elements of Italic art two sharply opposed psychological dispositions towards artistic form. When Rome was founded, the contrast between these two tendencies was already established. It determined the progress of Roman art through the centuries; perhaps, as a still effective energy, it can be identified in the styles of the Italian Renaissance and Baroque as well. In comparison with this basic, constitutional polarity of Italian art the impulses derived from Greece seem incidental. The art of Italy was always rich in foreign derivatives, but with their help she expressed her own inherent character. We have here another dualistic theory but not one of alternating trends. The trends are coexistent, parallel, constantly present in Italian art.

As a systematic effort this is probably the most significant contribution since Riegl towards a modern theory of Roman art. However, it is very different from Riegl's own. Kaschnitz started from a limited archaeological problem, namely, early portraits in Italy. His research gradually crystallized into a consistent theory. For a summary at least three of his major publications must be consulted, spanning the time from 1926 to 1949.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>120</sup> G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, "Studien zur etruskischen und frühromischen Porträtkunst," *RM* 41 (1926) 133 ff. (in the following cited as "Studien"). Idem, "Bemerkungen zur Struktur der altitalischen Plastik," *StEtr* 3 (1933) 135 ff. (in the following cited as "Bemerkungen"). Idem, section "Italien mit Sardinien, Sizilien und Malta," in W. Otto and R. Herbig, *Handbuch d. Archaeologie* 6, 4 (Munich 1950), 311 ff. (in the following cited as "Handbuch").

Two methodological points must be understood first. One is his concept of "structure," the other, his concept of the regional continuity of Italian art with the resulting emphasis on prehistory as the key to all later art in Italy.

It is not without significance that with Kaschnitz the concept of "structure" resulted from a study of sculptured monuments. Primarily his theory is one of statuary, unlike that of Riegl, which was a theory of painting and relief. The notions of space, illusionism etc. are not immediately applicable to solid sculptures, for the description of which different terms are required. "Structure" serves the latter purpose.

As used by Kaschnitz, this term refers to the internal (abstract) qualities of style underlying the (representational) surface forms, especially of sculpture. For instance, the famous bronze head called Brutus in the Conservatori Palace combines a cubistic and linear principle of design with naturalistic surface forms; the former qualities constitute its "structure" ("Studien," 147 ff.). These stereometrical qualities can be characterized as "static." The structure of other Italic works expresses a different, "dynamic" temperament striving for plastic and rounded, not linear, forms. Instances of the latter category are the Apollo of Veii or, in a later style, certain classes of Etruscan funeral portraits under Hellenistic influence ("Bemerkungen," 170 ff.; 186 f.).

These are important statements. They are possible only because in art "structure" is comparatively independent of representational intentions. Therefore the concept is applicable to all kinds of artefacts, regardless of their purpose and meaning. For the first time by way of this term a theoretical basis was created for the discussion of early Italic sculpture ("Bemerkungen," 135 ff.). The two trends of Italic art, according to Kaschnitz, are "structural" trends, that is, constant attitudes towards form, which must be distinguished from the variable intentions expressed in the various objects of art.

The second thesis of Kaschnitz, the regional continuity of Italian art, followed from this methodological approach. Incommensurable objects like prehistoric vases and Roman portraits become mutually comparable, when their structures are properly analyzed, for structure is a quality of design in objects with and without representational purpose. Already in the ornamenting habits of primitive artisans during the late stone age a significant dualism can be observed. ("Bemerkungen," 143 ff.). This, too, was a contrast of structural tendencies, one dynamic-corporeal, the other geometric-static. It first appeared in central and eastern Europe; the same dual disposition toward form was later inherited by the peoples of Italy.

In its typical Italic form during the early iron age this contrast was incorporated in the two leading styles of central Italy. The plastic-dynamic trend was represented by the forms and decorations of vessels found in the inhumation tombs (Ital. "fossa") of Rome, Latium, the Alban and Sabine hills; to these products Kaschnitz refers as the "Alban Fossa-ceramic" ("Bemerkungen," 155). The other trend, linear and geometric, characterizes the so-called "Villanova" civilization, centering in Etruria ("Handbuch," 384 f.).

In the area of Rome an earlier population, favoring cremation and geometric-linear forms of decoration, was subsequently invaded by "Fossa" people. Are these the *Latini* and *Sabini* which later united to become the historical Romans? ("Bemerkungen," 155 f.). If so, was not by their union the inveterate contrast between static-linear and dynamic-plastic art implanted in the very culture of Rome herself? In this way, Kaschnitz suggests, the evidence gained from the structural analysis of Italic and Roman art can be counterchecked with the findings of Italian prehistory. Imported motives, Oriental and Greek, did not alter the basic structural dualism of art in Italy ("Bemerkungen," 164 ff.). They merely forced the native artists to apply to the representations of man and beast the same contrasting attitudes, which had originally developed in the abstract design of primitive crafts.

One may call this a regional theory of Roman art because it emphasizes the lasting identity of trends in a given region, the central-Italian area, of which Rome is a geographical part. In order quite to understand the methodological basis of this theory, however, one other question must be asked. On what actual conditions did the perpetuity of these trends rest? For instance, who transmitted the "dynamic" style of the potter who formed the protuberances of an Alban "Fossa" vase to the artist of the Apollo statue from Veii? According to Kaschnitz' theory a supra-individual will expressed itself through the works of these men and thereby perpetuated itself. In terms of a pragmatic history the criticism of this interpretation is not that a transmission of artistic style cannot happen in such a fashion, only that there is so little proof of its actual happening in this concrete instance. At the present moment not much can be known about the transmission of styles – the intellectual working conditions – among artists and craftsmen in early Italy between 800 and 500 before Christ. To answer the above question a theory of collective style, i. e. a methodological assumption, must take the place of historical knowledge and documentation.

This assumption with Kaschnitz is the concept of the "formative will," which he accepted from Riegl, and finds expressed in the "structures" of both abstract and representational art. Similarity of structure in different objects or in whole groups of objects signifies the action of a supra-individual artistic "will," he maintains. The deterministic character of this concept, which we noticed previously, appears clearly in his account of the process of artistic creation ("Bemerkungen," 139 ff.).

On the other hand, Kaschnitz does not share Riegl's historical theory of universal evolution. This means that he is not inclined to ascribe a primary importance to the period-styles of art. Rather, he sees a primary condition of art in certain permanent attitudes towards form which remain regionally constant although adapted to changing period-styles. The two trends which he identifies in Italian art seem beyond time and do not really develop. They only change their temporary forms of materialization, so that each time they appear in a different mode of style: Italic and Hellenistic, Renaissance and Baroque etc. As in the nationalistic theories, previously discussed, the assumption is that supra-individual "wills" create collective styles. The styles, regional with Kaschnitz, are each dominated by a permanent psychological disposition. So the character of Roman Imperial art was pre-determined by the two elemental trends which together formed its "Italic" foundation. Accordingly, in this theory Roman art exhibits a dual nature instead of one single dominant; it possesses two souls instead of one.

This theory makes it possible to combine several observations which in other theories remained incompatible. Thus the two trends of Roman art are conceived as parallel and simultaneous, both equally "Italic," although in historical times one has often prevailed over the other. Whenever this happens, the sequence of styles in Italy assumes the alternative pattern, in which a "dynamic" period follows a "static" one and vice-versa ("Bemerkungen," 192 ff.).

Likewise, the regional concept implies an aspect of universal history insofar as it deals with the broader circumstances in which Roman art was genetically imbedded. This, with Kaschnitz, is the significance of the term "Italic." Roman is only a specific variety of "Italic" art. And the "Italic" temperament with its specific stylistic tendencies in turn only represents one charac-

teristic manifestation of the still more fundamental Mediterranean substratum, of which Greek art was another conspicuous offspring. In some of his more recent publications Kaschnitz has dealt especially with this aspect of his theory.<sup>121</sup> As in Greece, so in Italy, the Mediterranean substratum with its trend towards objective representation was activated by the "influx of European-Eurasian formative energies" ("Handbuch," 386). In Italy the result was the dual nature of "Italic" art.<sup>122</sup>

One remark is due here regarding the method of structural analysis. Avowedly this method aims at describing fundamental, formal qualities of art, reducing to a few essentials the many impressions which we receive from a work of art. Yet in every object the fundamental qualities are also the most general. A cubistic, dynamic or linear quality can be sensed in many different works of art, in many styles. These structural qualities are decisive for the esthetic effect. We may, indeed, accept them as the purest expression of the formative intent, but they are also the qualities most likely to repeat themselves in the human esthetic experience. Therefore geometric styles are common in the world's art, nor can a dynamic form be regarded the exclusive property of any one style. Precisely because they are so fundamental, tendencies of structure can scarcely ever prove a real connection between distant objects, as for instance, between Alban "Fossa" ceramics and the Apollo from Veii, unless some additional evidence can be adduced to make this connection likely.

Obviously a problem of general importance is here involved. The problem has become urgent, ever since Riegl expounded his theory that collective "forma-

<sup>121</sup> *Die mittelmeeerischen Grundlagen der antiken Kunst* (Frankfurt a. Main 1944). Cf. *RM* 59 (1944) 89 ff., and *infra*, n. 122.

<sup>122</sup> The fact should be mentioned, however, that the two papers cited in the preceding footnote arrive at a somewhat different, rather monistic, conclusion. They deal with architecture, and their purpose is to demonstrate the continuity of Italian art from prehistoric times to the Roman Empire in its spatial, not sculptural, aspect as architecture. From this different starting point they proceed to establish the essential unity of all art in Italy in accordance with a methodological assumption previously formulated by G. Cultrera and others; cf. Kaschnitz, "Bemerkungen," 193 n. 2. In ascribing a continued interest in "cave-like" interiors to Italian architecture these essays offer a more unified, less dualistic, concept of Italic art.

According to this hypothesis the prehistoric, Mediterranean religion of the Earth-Mother and the subterranean womb was the origin of the Italic preference for space-architecture. The domineering memory of these cults was expressed in the survival of primitive architectural forms, like cave-sanctuaries and cave-like tombs. Greek art was from the beginning differently conceived. Its aboriginal forms were the phallic pillar and the upright statue, sculptural symbols of ancestor worship and the divine hero ("Grundlagen," 34 ff.). From the cave-sanctuaries of Malta and similar prehistoric buildings stems the Roman susceptibility to enveloping space. Ultimately, from these memories grew the architectural devices of vault and dome and interior spaces like the Pantheon and the Basilica of Maxentius. This thesis cannot be further discussed here since it is chiefly concerned with the history of architecture and the psychology of architectural forms.

To the above bibliography add now the recent synopsis of these varying observations by the same author, "Über die Grundformen der italisch-römischen Struktur II," *MdI* 3 (1950) 148 ff.; especially 185 ff.

tive wills " create and maintain the collective styles of art. What was that "formative will" in reality, which created the collective styles of Egypt, or of the Gothic period, or of modern art? Clearly a collective "formative will" is no more than an abstraction, indeed a myth. A "will" can have no impersonal existence. Even a collective will must be the will of real persons; it expresses their agreement as to certain standards, for instance, of artistic representation. These problems were inherent in the idea of a collective "Kunstwollen" from the outset, but here they come to a head. In modern art criticism collective styles are treated as a matter of common experience. Yet the touchstone of any theory designed to explain their existence is the question how the individual style of the artist, his personal "formative will," is related to the general style in the realm of actuality. No theory of a collective "Kunstwollen" can be more than a preliminary hypothesis. It will always be necessary to ask for the actual conditions in which alone a human will can reside, in order to interpret styles of art. In an archaeological theory which claims the continued action of prehistoric tendencies in the art of much later generations this question becomes particularly urgent. Inevitably, we must ask how the supra-individual "will" preserved itself across the centuries, and how it was communicated to the individual artist.

A collective intent or preference, such as a general taste or "will" of art, can only reside in an actual group of people. Of what kind, then, are the collective bodies from which emerge the collective styles of art? Two answers, commonly given, were cited previously (pp. 36 f; 55). A collective style can be the artistic expression of an historical period. In this case it represents the "will" or the aspirations of a section of humanity limited in time, such as one or several generations or ages. The styles in the theory of Kaschnitz are not so defined; they are not period-styles. On the other hand a collective style can be conceived as a traditional vehicle of expression, like a language, proper to an ethnical group. This is the definition of most nationalistic theories and one of the commonest assumptions of prehistoric research.<sup>123</sup> Kaschnitz does not favour the ethnological definition either, although ethnical names are frequent in the prehistoric terminology of which he makes use.<sup>124</sup> This fundamental question thus remains properly unanswered. The very term "Italic," so important for this theory, conveys no more than a geographical meaning. No single ethnical group corresponds to this name. No element in reality has yet been demonstrated on which to found the suggested unity of prehistoric and historical arts in Italy.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. the statement by F. Matz, quoted above, n. 73; Kaschnitz' "Bemerkungen" frequently refer to this book.

<sup>124</sup> "Bemerkungen," 151, and elsewhere.

A third answer is possible, however. Art is one among the common activities integrated in the diverse forms of human "cultures." If one regards the collective styles as cultural phenomena, one gains a definition which does not bind art to linguistic or ethnical boundaries. Cultural standards often move freely across these boundaries, and it would seem more correct to define collective standards of art – the great "styles" – as an outcome of cultural rather than ethnical conditions. They follow the laws of cultural transmission, which are not the same as those of racial inheritance, and they are largely independent of language, but not of social and cultural circumstances. A cultural definition will likewise make it easier to explain how collective style and individual artistic creation are related to one another within a given area, for cultural standards in the main are voluntarily, and not unconsciously, accepted or changed.<sup>125</sup>

Perhaps the most valuable element in the theory of Kaschnitz will prove to be his methodological tool itself, the structural analysis applied to the anonymous materials of early Italian and Roman art. To analyze a work of art by its structure means to seek objective criteria of description. For this purpose our subjective esthetic preferences are comparatively unessential. In Kaschnitz' definition, the structural analysis of art answers the question, what lies before us and, perhaps, what the artist intended to achieve. The inquiry is limited to the basic, formal properties of an art object. For this reason it must temporarily disregard the other question, how we like what we see.<sup>126</sup> In his analysis of the "Brutus" – an outstanding example – this method has proved its worth. It will go far to overcome the methodological obstacle which so often arises from the uncertain esthetic evaluation of Roman art.

In the same rubric of theories assuming two parallel trends in Roman art Rodenwaldt must be cited once more. Much of his work was based on a theory of this type, his well known distinction between "popular" and "great" art in ancient Rome.<sup>127</sup> These categories denote two simultaneous currents of Empire art. The difference between them is not merely one of skill or quality; it involves matters of principle. "Great" art in Rome always was "fundamentally classical";<sup>128</sup> on this level formed the "revivals" described above. "Popular" art, consequently, represents the opposite trend; it was a different kind of Roman art, consistently non-classical if not consciously anti-classical.

<sup>125</sup> To this aspect of the problem of "style" cf. the interesting remarks made recently by R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Storicità dell'arte classica* (Florence 1950) xxiii ff.

<sup>126</sup> "Bemerkungen" 139 ff.

<sup>127</sup> One finds this contrast pointed out often in his writings on Roman art; v. especially G. Rodenwaldt, "Römische Reliefs; Vorstufen zur Spätantike," *JDAI* 55 (1940) 12 ff., and n. 1. The English terms, "popular" and "great" art, are taken from his chapter on "The Transition to Late-Classical Art," in *CAH* XII (Cambridge 1939) 547.

<sup>128</sup> *CAH* XII, 546.

This theory complements that of Kaschnitz, insofar as it regards especially the Imperial period; the art of early Italy lies beyond its reach. During the time of the late Republic, a distinctive style of "popular" art made its appearance on tombstones, funeral altars and similar monuments. The peculiar realism of the common funeral portraits of the period can be ascribed to this trend. Especially characteristic, however, are certain clearly definable representational devices, which at the same time become frequent in Roman reliefs. Outstanding characteristics of the latter kind, according to Rodenwaldt, are the following: frontal representation of the main personages, symmetrically centralized compositions, scaling of figures according to importance (not according to perspective or natural proportion), subordination of environment (e. g. architecture) to the main figures etc. ("Römische Reliefs," 43).

One point is immediately obvious. All the details named indicate a stylistic tendency which is not only non-classical but also anti-naturalistic. Classical art generally avoided these forms of representation. In late Roman and Byzantine reliefs and paintings, where they constitute the rule, the same devices were often ascribed to "Oriental" influences. But this hypothesis cannot explain the similar deviations from classical standards in Roman reliefs of the late Republic and early Empire. Therefore Rodenwaldt concluded that at least one source of the late Roman style was a genuinely Roman trend of art. Gradually this tendency advanced from the humble status which it first occupied in Empire art to take its place as a new and generally acknowledged form of artistic expression. In the process were laid the foundations of Byzantine art, which consequently includes a strong Roman component, just as Byzantium itself was "new Rome" ("Römische Reliefs," 38 ff.).

The distinction between these two trends in Roman art offers one advantage not found in other dualistic theories. They can be associated with actual population strata. This is the special significance of the term "popular" art. By type, purpose and workmanship the art created on this level represents a local practice in Rome and elsewhere serving the needs of the working middle classes. Therefore its style differs from the international classicism of "great" art. Its language is less pure and more vernacular. "One might almost call it a provincial art within Rome itself" (CAH XII 547). The existence of this trend is undeniable and can be understood as a sociological fact.

It is quite another question how these peculiar, non-classical habits of representation became a "popular" tradition in Rome. Thus far we have no answer. Rodenwaldt considered the "popular" style a native trend, which by and by imparted its "Romanitas" to the higher forms of imperial art (Römische Reliefs," 24). A local and vernacular style it certainly was, but native in the sense of early or intrinsically Roman it cannot be. Its constituent traits are quite precise devices. Some are well known in Egyptian and Oriental art. The advent of Greek art interrupted their use in most countries except Egypt. All of them are absent from classical and Hellenistic Italy. In no way can they form part of a continuous, early Italic tradition. When they finally appear in local Roman reliefs towards the end of the pre-Christian era, they constitute a new kind of primitive art, mixing ancient with novel devices (such as the use of frontality in pictorial composition).<sup>129</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Cf. *supra*, 39 f. Rodenwaldt too considered an important innovation the partiality for facing figures evidenced by late Classical paintings and reliefs. He traced the growth of this device both in Western and in Eastern (Parthian) art of the period of the Empire: *BonnJhb* 130 (1928) 228 ff.; cf. *JDAI* 55 (1940) 38. Because facing seated figures with foreshortened (perspectival) representation of the upper legs appear in Roman art after ca. 270 A. D., he concluded that reliefs showing this type followed a pictorial concept, while earlier Roman reliefs followed a sculptural tradition: *JDAI* 51 (1936) 106.

Against this view see our previous remarks on frontality, *supra*, 39 f. Frontality was not at first a part of the ancient tradition of painting, which, on the contrary, represented figures moving

## PLURALISTIC THEORIES:

## THE INEQUALITY OF THE CONTEMPORANEOUS.

We are nearing the end. Only the most recent set of approaches to Roman art remains to be discussed. They differ from the preceding theories in the following important point.

Artists form the collective styles and conform to them at the same time. Let us resume our previous question. What causes this conformity of form and outlook? And how complete is it at any given time? As we saw, most theories of style since Riegl answered the question implicitly by assuming that historical circumstances, social environment or biological heritage determine the work of each artist. In any case the range of action is severely limited for the individual. Artists create styles because they cannot work in any other style. There is no freedom, perhaps not even a want of freedom, since no one can look beyond his preordained conditions.

The dualistic theories considered above do not really break with these concepts. It is true that they recognize a dual attitude of style in Roman art instead of complete conformity. Yet they, too, assume in general that an artist adheres to one, and only one, of the two currents which in these theories form the bi-polarity of Roman art. In most cases the assumption is made tacitly that an artist by necessity conforms to the style of the ethnical or social group to which he happens to belong; he cannot do otherwise. The possibility is not seriously considered that the same artist may have worked in a "dynamic" style at one time, in a "static" style at another, or that under the Empire a single man might work in the "popular" and the "great" style with equal facility.

Yet this is precisely the question. Cultural standards are accepted by individual persons for a variety of reasons. No doubt certain civilizations live up to a single formal tradition which constitutes the optimum of art accessible to them. The products of their craftsmen look like mere variations of a common archetype; there is little change of technique, form or decoration. Conformity to the collective standard is almost complete in these cases and is willingly accepted. The prehistoric civilizations of Italy, including those evi-

and acting sidewise, while it was the rule in the ancient tradition of statuary. Only in the gradual evolution of Greek painting did figures begin to move more freely as if seen from all sides like statues; oblique representations appear. This is the classical stage; it is still reflected in most Roman reliefs before the third century A. D. Finally facing figures became the rule even in painting. The reliefs analyzed by Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, do not represent an innovation, in the sense that they were first to follow the rules of pictorial composition. They merely reflect the ancient pictorial tradition in a more advanced stage than did their predecessors.

denced by the "Villanova" and "Fossa" ceramics, may well have been of this type. But is it likely that the same conditions persisted in the historical periods of Italy and Rome? By then, examples of various standards of art existed side by side within an increasingly integrated community. The provincialism of many regions tended to make the art of Italy more variegated and less concentrated in a single standardizing effort than was the classical art of Greece. Yet these regions were not wholly disconnected; imported art reached them, and their own products often circulated among their neighbors. And in art, examples not only may be imitated but actually invite imitation by others, as well as rivalry. In short, the conditions of historical Italy developed in such a way that there was every chance for artists to choose at will between various competing traditions. The possibility in Roman art of free exchange and purposeful choice must be seriously considered.

Perhaps it can be said that a degree of freedom, i. e. of choice between conflicting standards, is a characteristic of all art in the higher civilizations. The art of Egypt comprises an important diversity of trends in spite of its seemingly complete unity of style, which first impresses the outsider. Naturalistic and formal trends of sculpture, decorative and abstract concepts of architecture compete with each other and often co-exist simultaneously. Another example, especially informative for the study of Roman art, is found in Assyrian reliefs, where a hieratic style of representation appears co-existent with an entirely different narrative style. These two styles served distinct purposes and were doubtless employed with an awareness of their diversity. For instance, the heraldic compositions of winged genii confronting one another with a sacred tree between them are "hieratic." The king's hunt or scenes of war are represented in a much freer style reserved for narratives. This contrast is very similar to the one between the classical ("hieratic") style and the so-called "folk art" (narratives) in Roman art of the Empire. We must conclude that the Assyrian artists were equally fluent in both modes of representation, but that their choice was determined by religious rules and subject matter. The two trends were consciously employed and distinguished; we may call them "generic styles."

In the light of these considerations it may become necessary for us to reconsider the current conception of "style," in one respect. Certainly the style of a work of art is not entirely the expression of a personal will; it includes impersonal elements. Nor, on the other hand, can it ever be a wholly impersonal performance of a collective will. Between these two extremes it is safe to assume that an artist's work will always be more or less personal according to circumstances. What is a personal element in a work of art and what is not must be determined by criticism. This matter cannot be taken for granted. For instance, there is no reason to assume that an artist cannot employ different modes of representing spatial relations in a painting or relief. The various manners of representing space are teachable devices; they do not necessarily constitute a personal element of style. But neither are they necessarily determined by collective habits. In the nineteenth century tradition, still

valid with us, the habit of a rather photographic rendition of perspective prevails. Yet modern artists for reasons of their own freely employ quite different forms of spatial representation. Again, the question is whether a similar freedom of choice was not enjoyed by Roman artists, and whether our deterministic and evolutionary theories of style do not underrate that freedom.

Particularly, the study of spatial representation in Roman art must lead to this question. For in no other equally fundamental element of representation was the style (the "Kunstwollen") of Roman art less uniform. Under the Empire it appears that the accumulated experiences of the entire preceding art of antiquity, classical and pre-classical, were at the disposal of Roman artists, and that the artists used these devices, adding new experiments of their own with considerable freedom. The reason was that the Romans did not develop the conception of a unified space as a general problem of art. Therefore they felt free to express the human experience of space in various ways. It is a remarkable fact that Roman art in the Imperial period did not adhere to a uniform convention of spatial representation. Instead, contrasting renditions of space, some more natural, others more symbolical, are often found in Roman monuments of the same period, sometimes even side by side in different portions of a single monument.<sup>130</sup> In the face of such examples one cannot doubt the ability of Roman artists to work in different "styles" of their choice. Similar observations can be made with regard to other aspects of Roman art, for instance, the use of "classical" and "realistic" approaches in contemporaneous reliefs and portraits. An interpretation which intends to account for these facts must resign the idea of an absolute stylistic unity in Roman art. It must reckon with the simultaneous existence of contrasting standards and perhaps not only with a dualism but a plurality of trends. Last but not least, it must consider the possibility that artists adopt styles individually, adhere to existing standards by free choice and devise means of expression personally for specific purposes.

The following recent studies in Roman art should be read together as representing this point of view; among the modern theories of Roman art they form a group of their own. The present writer first presented a theory along these lines in 1935.<sup>131</sup> Soon afterwards, R. P. Hinks attacked the same methodological problem on somewhat different grounds by describing the forms of spatial representation in Roman reliefs of the Empire.<sup>132</sup> The idea has spread

<sup>130</sup> v. the remarks about the base of the column of Antoninus Pius and similar cases in the paper cited below, n. 131.

<sup>131</sup> O. Brendel, "Gli studi sul rilievo storico romano in Germania" (lecture, March 1935), published in *Gli studi romani nel mondo*, 3 (Rome 1936) 129 ff.

<sup>132</sup> R. Hinks, "Raum und Fläche im spätantiken Relief" (lecture, Feb. 1936), published in *AA* (1936) 238 ff.

meanwhile. The most comprehensive statement of the problem thus far has come from H. P. von Blankenhagen, who to the analysis of the Flavian style applied methodological distinctions similar to those previously proposed by this writer.<sup>133</sup> Pertinent remarks can also be found in Rodenwaldt.<sup>134</sup> Most recently, in the same vein, P. G. Hamberg undertook an investigation of the various symbolical and realistic "modes of representation" which were in use simultaneously in the so-called historical reliefs of Imperial art.<sup>135</sup>

Common to all these studies is the emphasis on the essential inequality of contemporaneous products in Roman art. Such is also the attitude of L. Curtius towards Pompeiian painting, which likewise should be recorded in this category.<sup>136</sup> The four styles of wall decoration in Pompeii had since their discovery been regarded as a continuous progress from earlier to later, i. e. more highly developed, forms of art. Only the fourth style realized fully the intrinsic goal of their development, namely, illusionistic representation. Yet, if the third style continued for some time alongside of the fourth, as suggested by Curtius, this idea of an absolute development must be modified. We face then the more complicated case of two parallel trends developing in relation to one another, while their combined evolutions form the development of Pompeiian painting.<sup>137</sup>

The concept of a collective style, inborn to the individual like a character trait, is hardly applicable to any of these observations. The stylistic trends explored in this group of studies appear as comparatively free, perhaps interchangeable, esthetic attitudes and experiments. They developed with the times, yet not without specific reasons. But neither the reasons nor the pace of these stylistic changes are predictable in theory; they can only be described empirically. These trends of style express public aspirations and private sentiments, fluctuations of taste or special interests and dislikes on the part of artists; some are progressive, others provincial and retarding. They appear as pairs of contrast or as multiple currents, parallel or merging with each other. It is together, in their totality, that they have created what is now known as Roman art; none is more intrinsically Roman than the others. Roman art so considered is not a formal style; rather, it is a general condition of art in historically definable circumstances. At any rate the feeling prevails, as in the blunt statement

<sup>133</sup> H. P. von Blankenhagen, "Elemente der römischen Kunst am Beispiel des Flavischen Stils" in *Das neue Bild der Antike*, ed. H. Berve, 2 (Leipzig 1942) 510 ff.

<sup>134</sup> Especially *JDAI* 55 (1940) 27 f.; 40 f.

<sup>135</sup> P. G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art, with special reference to the State Reliefs of the Second Century* (Copenhagen 1945).

<sup>136</sup> L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* (Leipzig 1929) 198 ff.

<sup>137</sup> Discussion of this theory is not yet closed. The earlier theory of a continuous development in Pompeiian wall paintings was recently defended by H. Beyen; see bibliography in K. Scheffold, *op. cit.*, *supra*, n. 114, 183.

by R. P. Hinks, that in the study of Roman art "the doctrine of a unified Kunstwollen can no longer be maintained."<sup>138</sup>

The method of these studies aims at descriptive distinctions. The following are the most important categories.

1. *Rendition of space* (Brendel, Hinks, Blankenhagen). Roman art after Augustus at the latest displayed considerable diversity and a rather experimental attitude respecting this problem. Its more naturalistic forms of spatial representation include the use of an empirical (not systematic) perspective. Other devices are decidedly not naturalistic and do not aspire to a representation of the visual experience of space. These forms, or rather formulae, of spatial rendition may called symbolical (Brendel) or abstract (Blankenhagen). The contrast between these modes of representation increased with the times. It already existed in the reliefs of the Ara Pacis but expressed itself most sharply in the fundamentally different renditions of the enthroned consul and the circus scenes below his feet in late Roman ivory diptychs.

2. *Classical and non-Classical standards* (Brendel, Blankenhagen, Hamberg). The diversity of spatial representations is closely related to the problem of classical standards in Roman art raised by Rodenwaldt and others. As a rule, the classical style of Greek art favoured forms of representation approximating the natural, visual experience of space. Consequently the more "symbolical" renditions of space in Roman art, by contrast, appear non-classical.

But this is only one aspect of the "classical" problem in Roman art. There are others. It would be difficult in any period to find disparities of style as fundamental as in Roman art sometimes exist in one and the same monument; for instance, in the reliefs decorating the base of the column of Antoninus in the Vatican. The difference is total, unqualified; its significance can hardly be overstated from the critical point of view. It can, however, be described as the difference between a classical mode of representation and its counterpart, both equally characteristic of Imperial art. In this way we are led to the categories employed by Hamberg. The apotheosis of Antoninus in the front relief of this base is a "classical" allegory.<sup>139</sup> The parades shown on the other sides are composed in a "symbolical" space but otherwise present a realistic narrative; here the difference is one between "allegorical" and "historical" art.

A similar discrepancy exists in the late-Republican monument of Ahenobarbus. The slabs at Munich with the famous pageant of oceanic monsters represent its "classical" sides; the relief in Paris records the "historical" event which the same monument was expected to commemorate. Again one deals with two entirely different modes – "styles" – of representation. Nor can this contrast be described as "popular" and "great" art. The representation of the sacrifice in the Louvre is not "popular" art. Yet it differs *toto genere* from the mythological compositions which formed its companions.

3. *Generic Styles* (Brendel, Blankenhagen). The descriptive terms mentioned so far, in this category lead to antithetical pairs of contrast. Thereby they differ from the third concept peculiar to this group of studies, which we here propose to call the principle of generic styles

<sup>138</sup> R. Hinks, *AA* (1936) 248. Likewise, "Romanitas" can have no unified content; rather, it consists in a harmony of heterogeneous elements. The term is used, redefined in this sense, in Blankenhagen, *op. cit.*, *supra* n. 133, 551 ff.; Hamberg, *Studies* 191 f. On the other hand, while the stylistic inequality of contemporaneous works seems the rule in Roman art, the contrasting "styles" themselves are not absolutely timeless; Roman art is not beyond all understanding in terms of stylistic periods. On this point, Blankenhagen was misunderstood by Hamberg, *Studies* 191.

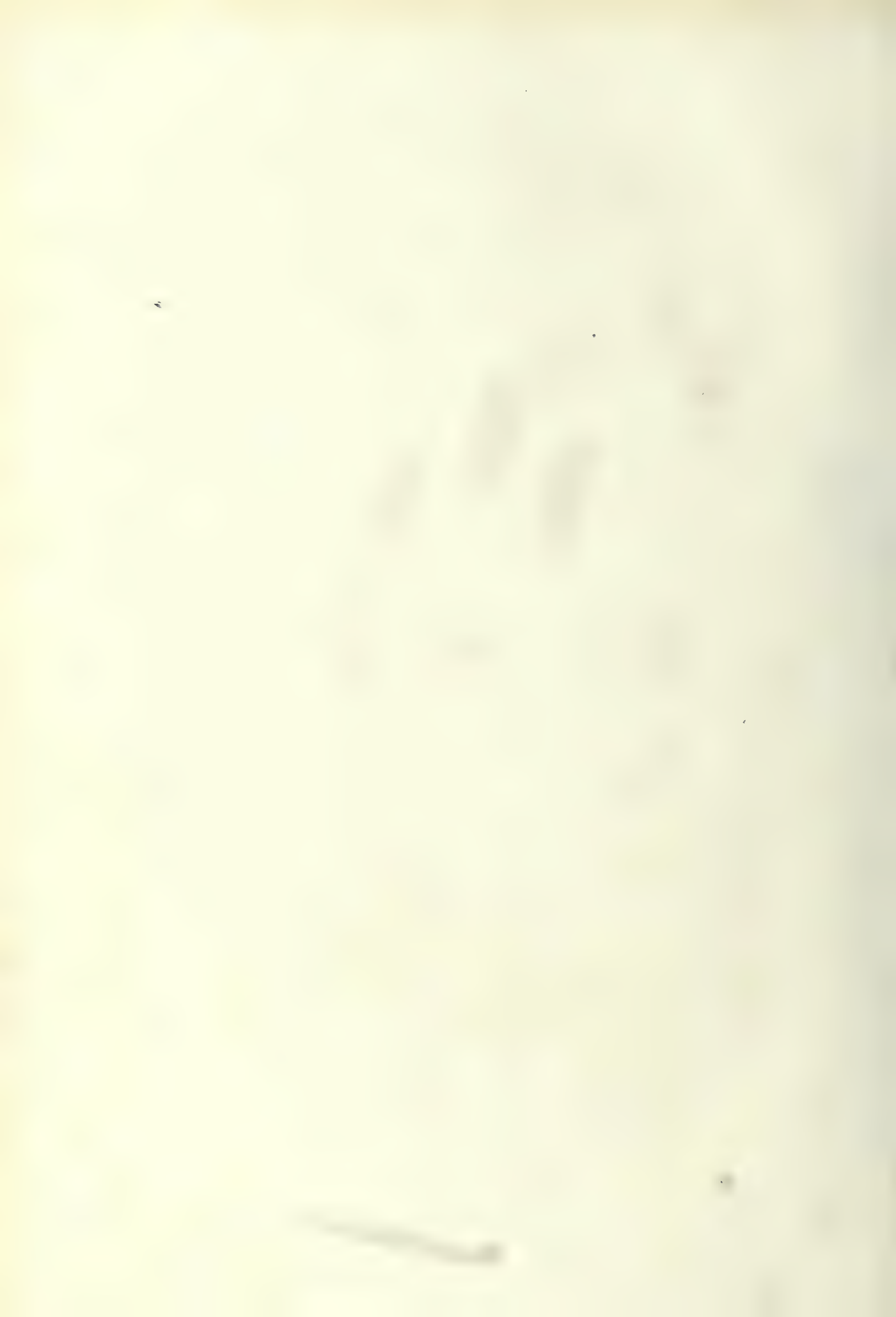
<sup>139</sup> Brendel, "Rilievo storico," 134 ff.

("autonomia della forma rappresentativa," Brendel; "Gattungsstile," Blankenhagen). Works of Roman art often conform to certain classifications of type (e. g. tomb reliefs with portraits) or theme (historical narrative), which require different modes of representation. These are "generic" styles. The difference between these styles is comparable to the one between hieratic and realistic reliefs in Assyrian art. However, in Roman art there is no limit to their number.

For instance, the representation of the sacrifice from the monument of Ahenobarbus will be found more similar to other reliefs representing sacrifices than to the mythological compositions which formed its actual companion pieces. This similarity may be ascribed to the "generic" style common to representations of sacrifices in official Roman monuments. Obviously the "generic" requirements are often more decisive for the composition of a Roman relief or painting than its "period-style."

In many cases the "generic" style of a certain representation was prescribed, chiefly, by one of those iconographical schemata common in the art of the Empire. A procession on the column of Trajan may therefore look surprisingly similar to the much earlier processions of the Ara Pacis. On the other hand, not the subject matter alone but also its importance, e. g. in a certain architectural context, often influenced the "generic" style. In turn, the iconographical schemata develop with the times, as Hamberg has shown (following Lehmann) with the *adlocutio* scenes in the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Even then they remain independent nuclei of composition or autonomous pictures, as it were; one usually recognizes them at once, like a musical motive, in any larger context in which they occur. These iconographical patterns run through all Roman art, like so many independent strands in the complex web of its development.

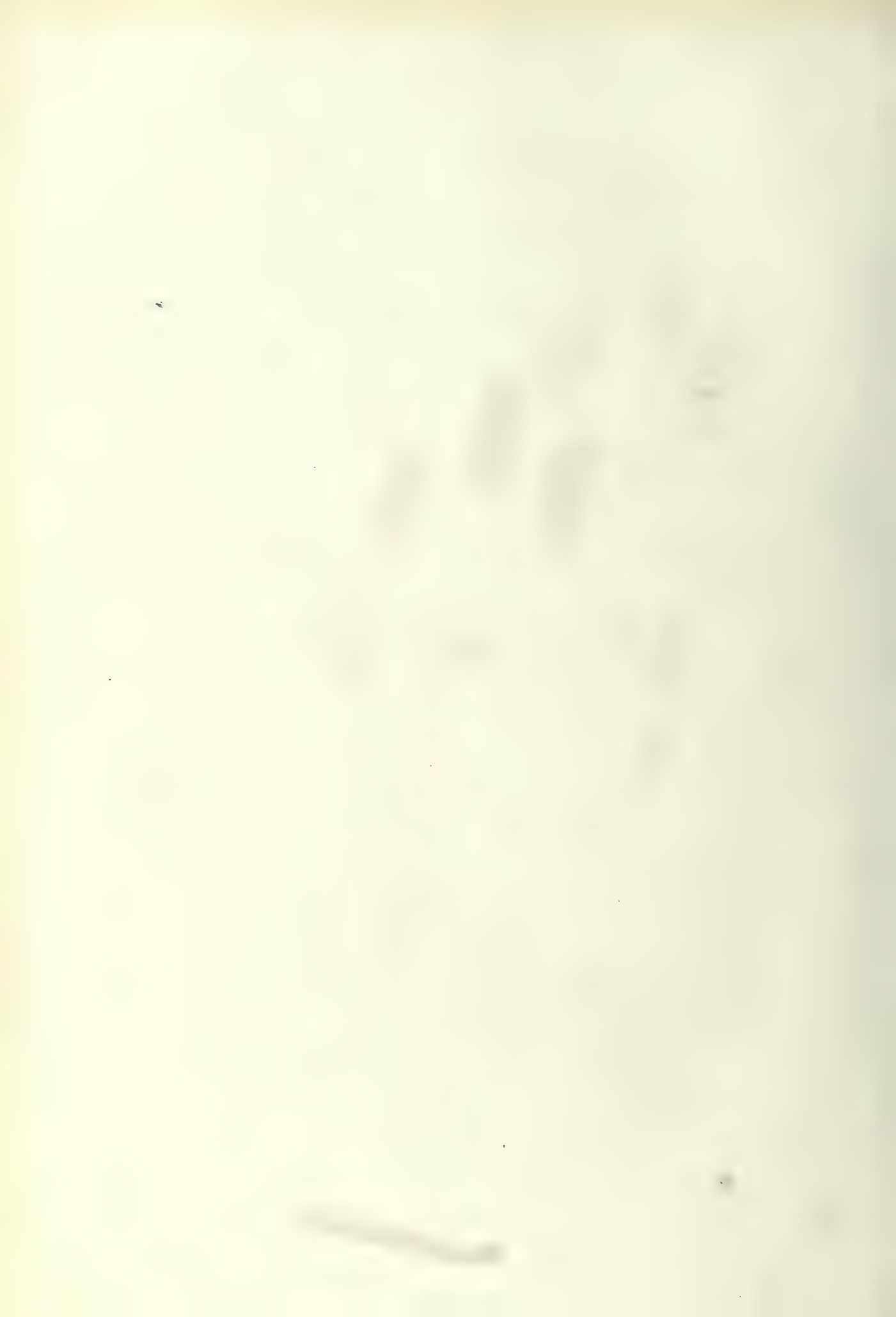
Whenever this method of investigation is adopted, the lack of stylistic unity in Roman art will seem spectacular. Yet this fact should not surprise us too much. For we ourselves live in a time in which the standards of art are markedly divided. Year after year the most incongruent works of art are simultaneously produced in our world. We have the opportunity at first hand to observe the reactions of a public of contemporaries to such unequal modes of artistic expression. The diversity of possible choices or the lack of unity, which is only the obverse of this condition, must be accepted as the true characteristic of periods like the Roman or like our own. One basic contrast of standards in particular was the legacy of Rome herself to all later arts. This duality arises from the fact that the classical examples and conceptions can be accepted or declined as standards of artistic creation, but they are not easily forgotten. In this circumstance alone lies a source of possible choices and conflicts not present in any pre-classical art. The Romans were the first to realize and to exemplify this peculiar condition. At least with regard to this unique problem their choice was as free as is ours. Their artistic creations veer towards an attitude of esthetic selection according to taste or purpose, which resembles the post-classical habits of art more than the ancient. In this sense Roman art may well be considered the first "modern" art in history.



THE ETRUSCAN ORIGINS  
OF EARLY ROMAN SCULPTURE

BY

EMELINE HILL RICHARDSON



## THE ETRUSCAN ORIGINS OF EARLY ROMAN SCULPTURE \*

The elder Pliny's encyclopedic *Natural History*<sup>1</sup> contains, as every archaeologist gratefully acknowledges, some very valuable chapters on the history of art in antiquity. They are not a piece of original scholarship, but, like the whole of Pliny's book, a brief outline of the subject in hand based on the writings of earlier authorities, whom he lists in his table of contents in Book 1. The subject is two-fold: it includes the history of Greek sculpture and painting and also the record of sculpture and painting in Italy, especially at Rome—that is to say, statues or paintings made for the Roman state and set up publicly in the city. It is not necessary, or even likely, that this "Roman art" was the work of Roman artists; Romans did not practice sculpture or painting as a profession, though for some of them, as for Fabius Pictor, the ancestor of the historian, it seems to have been a hobby. The professional artists at Rome were probably all foreigners, Etruscans like Vulca of Veii in the sixth century (Pliny, *N.H.* 35.157), or Greeks like Damophilos and Gorgasos of the fifth (35.154) and Arcesilaos and Pasiteles of the first centuries B. C. (35.156).

When Pliny described the statues of Rome, he divided them, according to the plan of his work, into three groups depending on the material of which they were made. The chief materials, to which his groups correspond, were bronze, terra cotta, and marble, though gold, silver and ivory were used occasionally. Historians of art have rather made fun of Pliny for his mechanical division, and, indeed, when he describes the work of some Greek artists, it makes an awkward arrangement. The statues of Phidias, for instance, are separated so that the bronzes are mentioned in Book 34, and the marbles in Book 36, while there is no category for Phidias' own specialty, figures of gold and ivory.

\* Acknowledgement for permission to reproduce photographs is gratefully made to the *Museo Archeologico, Florence* for Figs. 7, 8, 36; to the *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, for Figs. 11, 14, 24-25; to the *Cleveland Museum of Art* for Figs. 2, 34; to the *Trustees of the British Museum* for Figs. 5, 37; to the *Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore* for Figs. 9, 20; to the *Musée du Louvre* for Figs. 28, 40; to the *Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto* for Fig. 4; to the *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris* for Fig. 6; to the *Metropolitan Museum of Art* for Fig. 12; to the *Dudley Peter Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin* for Fig. 13; to the *Museum of Historic Art, Princeton* for Figs. 21-22; to the *Vatican Museum* for Figs. 26-27; to the *Museo Comunale, Castello Ursino, Catania* for Figs. 29-32; to the *Detroit Institute of Arts* for Fig. 33; to the *Brooklyn Museum* for Fig. 39.

<sup>1</sup> *N. H.* 34.5-93; 35.2-30, 49-173; 36.1-44.

But usually, even in Greece, the same artist did not work in both bronze and marble. And in the case of Roman statues the difference in material is fundamental. Each material had its particular use. Terra cotta was used for cult statues of the gods and the decorations for their temples; bronze was used rarely for statues of gods and always, in Pliny's account, for statues of men. Marble, to say nothing of gold and silver, was a late and luxurious innovation at Rome. Pliny says nothing about sculpture in local stone, of which there were certainly examples at Rome before marble came into fashion, for instance, the so-called bust of Ennius from the tomb of the Scipios<sup>2</sup> and the "Orpheus" from the Flute-players' monument.<sup>3</sup> His indifference to stone sculpture may be due to its mediocre quality, but I think it is more probably due to the fact that stone was used, as it was in Etruria,<sup>4</sup> for funerary sculpture, which does not concern Pliny at all, or for small and historically unimportant monuments (such as that of the Flute-players), which do not concern him either. The Roman statues that Pliny discusses, except in his chapter on ancestral portraits (35.2-13), are almost all important public monuments, either cult statues or decorations for the temples of the gods, or dedications to the gods or honorary statues set up by the state to public figures. Any exceptions to this can be explained by the oddness of the type used for a statue (such as the votive statue of Mancinus, 34.18)<sup>5</sup> or by Pliny's inclination to moralize whenever possible (34.19).

The statues of the ancient world, both in Greece and in Rome, can be divided into six categories: cult statues, temple decorations, votive offerings in the sanctuaries of the gods (and this includes dedications by private individuals and dedications by a state; some Greek athlete statues come under this category), honorary statues set up by a state to an individual, not in a sacred precinct but in the city proper (some Greek athlete statues come under this category), funerary statues and, in Rome, ancestor masks and purely decorative figures. Of these six groups, Pliny discusses examples of the first four, ignores the fifth and treats the sixth incidentally in his discussion of marble sculpture at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Rome, Vatican, W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* (Berlin 1908) II p. 8 f., pl. I; B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (Leipzig and Weimar 1948) 56, figs. 46 and 47.

<sup>3</sup> Rome, Antiquarium, A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture* (London 1927) 62, pl. 102 b.

<sup>4</sup> For example, the sculpture from the Tumulus della Pietrera, Vetulonia, most recently discussed with bibliography by R. Pincelli in *StEtr* 17 (1943) 47 ff., pls. VI-X and S. Ferri; cf. *StEtr* 21 (1950-51) 21 ff.; and the "Dedalic" sculpture of Chiusi, P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika* (Copenhagen 1941) p. 113 and bibliography; G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan 1935), pls. 75, 76.

<sup>5</sup> Velleius Paterculus, 2.1.5, *nudus ac post tergum religatis manibus*.

## MARBLE SCULPTURE.

A taste for the polished stone, in the form of columns and architectural decorations, was, to Pliny, a sinister development of the first century B. C. (36.49-50).<sup>6</sup> In his own time, the art of painting itself had yielded to the passion for marble mosaic: "we have even begun to paint in stone," he says gloomily (35.2-3). During the second and first centuries quantities of marble statues were brought to Rome from the spoils of Greek cities and were set up in public places, but not till the last half-century of the Republic is it certain that there were sculptors at Rome whose specialty was marble-cutting.

Pliny mentions three such sculptors (36.39-41); it is to be noticed that two, at least, were Greeks: Pasiteles, "born on the Greek coast of Italy," and Arcesilaos, the friend of Lucullus, who made the statue of Venus Genetrix in the forum of Caesar (incidentally, we do not know whether this was a marble statue or not; it is only the clay model that Pliny mentions, 35.155-156). The third was Coponius, who made the Fourteen Nations around the theatre of Pompey. In spite of his name, he too may have been a Greek; a Roman gentile name is no sign of Roman blood: *vide* Livius Andronicus and Cicero's friend, Aulus Licinius Archias. However, Pasiteles, who, as a Roman citizen, must have had a Roman name, is always known by his Greek name, so it may be that Coponius should be considered as the one native Italian marble-cutter whose name we know.

The marble sculpture of these men seems, from Pliny's description, to have been purely decorative. Coponius' Fourteen Nations are apparently personifications like the later Provinces from Hadrian's temple. The one marble by Arcesilaos which Pliny mentions specifically, winged cupids playing with a lioness (36.41), sounds like an ornamental relief of some kind. Pliny does not speak of any particular marbles by Pasiteles, but we know that his pupil Stephanos made marble statues in the manner of classical Greek bronzes,<sup>7</sup> and such marbles in Rome were decorative in purpose. They were used to ornament colon-

<sup>6</sup> Actually, the first temple at Rome with marble decorations was built by Q. Metellus Macedonicus after the defeat of Perseus in 146 B. C. Velleius Paterculus I.11.3. V. G. Lugli, *Roma Antica, il centro monumentale* (Rome 1946) 565. Pliny says (36.35) that there were, in the temples within the Porticus Metelli, marble statues by Timarchides, Dionysius, Polycles, Philiscus, and Pasiteles. The last we know worked in Rome; the earlier sculptors may have also, and if so, they are the first who are known to have made marble statues at Rome. O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik* (Lund/Leipzig 1941) 36.

<sup>7</sup> Stephanos' athlete in the Albani Collection, Rome. W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, ed. 3, edited by W. Amelung, E. Reisch, Fritz Weege (Leipzig 1912) II, 408, no. 1846. G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, revised ed. (New Haven 1950) 182, fig. 773.

nades and porticoes and gardens in private houses, as the imported famous Greek marbles and bronzes were used to decorate public buildings and gardens (36.23-26).

To the Romans, indeed, all Greek art was, in a manner of speaking, decorative; that is, it was non-essential, an adornment to the city and the state, not a necessary part of the life-religious or social-of the *Populus Romanus*. It is true that Greek statues of the gods were sometimes set up in the temples of Rome as gifts to the Roman gods whose Greek counterparts they were—thus Scopas' marble Apollo, which Pliny calls the Palatine, was set up in the temple built by Augustus on the Palatine hill (36.25)—but there is no evidence that Greek statues were ever used as the cult statues in Roman temples. Fundamentally, Greek sculpture at Rome was ornamental.

This, I believe, was particularly true of Greek marble sculpture, since the use of marble itself was an imported fashion, while the art of bronze casting was native to Italy. Since marble, to the Romans, was at first pure decoration, the earliest marble statues made at Rome — the figures by Pasiteles, Arcesilaos and Coponius — were decorative. It may be that the first marble sculptures carved at Rome for a serious, Roman purpose were the reliefs of the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus; and in them, and even in the reliefs of the Ara Pacis Augustae, the decorative tradition is very apparent.

Purely decorative art on a large scale developed in the wealthy and secular societies of Hellenistic Greece, and its effectiveness can be seen in the garden statues, wall paintings, and mosaics of Pompeii and Herculaneum. In Archaic and Classical Greece large-scale sculpture and painting had a more serious purpose. Such work was dedicated to the gods in their temples and precincts, or to the honor of the state or its distinguished citizens, which, in Greece, included victorious athletes. Thus, even the wall paintings by Polygnotus in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi or the frescoes in the Painted Porch at Athens<sup>8</sup> were not mere decorations but, in the one case, philosophical, and in the other, political allegories and memorials of historic events.

This is not to say that Greece did not produce any decorative art in the Archaic and Classical periods: her painted pottery, her bronze tripods and mixing bowls and mirrors ornamented with human or animal figures are delightful examples of art for its own sake. But still this art is a decoration for a useful object, never a mere parlor ornament.

The art of Italy in the Archaic and Classic periods was divided into the same categories as that of Greece. The Greek cities of southern Italy naturally followed the customs of Greece, and the Etruscan cities of northern Italy did so too.

<sup>8</sup> Pausanias 10.25.1-31.12; 1.3.3-4.

Large-scale art, sculpture or painting (and in Etruria this must include tomb-painting) was serious, religious or social in purpose; decorative art was small in size and always a part of some useful utensil, a bowl or cup or lamp or incense-burner.

It is the serious, large scale art of Rome that concerns Pliny. Its significance to him is first of all historical: the statues and paintings that he mentions are monuments and illustrations of Roman history, always the favorite subject of any Roman writer. Pliny is also an antiquarian, like Varro and many other Romans of the late Republic and early Empire, and so he refers to old paintings at Ardea and Lanuvium and Caere (35.17-18) and to an old statue of Jupiter carved from vine wood at Populonia (14.9) although these have no direct bearing on Roman tradition.

Pliny's aesthetic judgment is hard to pin down. In his discussion of Greek sculpture he follows Xenocrates of Sicyon, who makes all Greek athletic sculpture fit into a single series that culminates in Lysippus and complete anatomical realism; he also quotes Duris of Samos as saying that Lysippus had no master but nature (34.57-61).<sup>9</sup> His taste otherwise is for the archaic, which was also the taste of the early Empire (36.13)<sup>10</sup> and which is a fashionable taste today. He also admires extravagantly the Laocoon group (36.37), which people today generally do not, though Michelangelo did.

Almost none of the statues that Pliny mentions except the Laocoon group have survived. From the marble copies of Greek masterpieces used as decorations for private villas and gardens we have learned a great deal about the history of Greek art. But the ancient Roman statues, apparently, were not reproduced, so we have no idea what they looked like.<sup>11</sup>

There are several possible reasons why the oldest Roman statues were not copied. First of all, they were probably too official. Most of them were honorary statues to generals and distinguished citizens set up in the Forum; why should replicas of these be placed in private houses? Then, the violent taste for Greek art, which developed in the late Republic and is responsible for the masses of copies of Greek statues, apparently made the home products seem too old-fashioned and dowdy; Livy tells us that this was the opinion in Cato's day.<sup>12</sup> Or,

<sup>9</sup> S. Ferri, *Plinio il Vecchio, Storia delle arti antiche*, testo, traduzione e note a cura di Silvio Ferri (Rome 1946) 8.

<sup>10</sup> *N. H.* 36.13, speaking of the statues of Bupalos and Athenis (c. 540 B. C.) *Romae eorum signa sunt in Palatina aede Apollonis in fastigio et omnibus fere quae fecit divus Augustus.*

<sup>11</sup> There is one possible exception to this statement: some of the Roman Imperial statuettes of divinities may be copies or imitations of earlier Roman rather than Greek statues of gods. This will be considered more fully later.

<sup>12</sup> 34.4, from Cato's speech on the repeal of the *Lex Oppia*.

in spite of the later revival of interest in the archaic, the statues may really have been so clumsy and unattractive that nobody would want to copy them. It is also possible that they were not really archaic at all but pieces of romantic antiquarianism of a later age. Such figures were common enough in Greece,<sup>13</sup> and Pliny knew of examples in Rome. (It is to be noticed, however, that to Pliny there is a clear distinction between genuinely archaic honorary statues and later monuments erected to men of antiquity, 34.26; 35.9).

Since all the Roman originals have vanished, the only evidence we have for their appearance is in Pliny's descriptions. In some cases, the statues were destroyed even before Pliny's day, but, even when he did not see the statues themselves, he records the tradition of their type and the date at which they were supposed to have been set up. The purpose of this paper is to indicate that there is, in fact, archaeological evidence that the types which Pliny describes did exist in Italy at the periods to which Pliny ascribes them, that the cult statues and votive figures and honorary bronzes which he assigns to the Regal period and the early Republic could actually have been archaic and of the types that Pliny cites. This evidence consists of actual finds of terra cottas at Rome, which bear out Pliny's account of terra cotta sculpture, and of the innumerable small Etruscan bronzes which are preserved in Italy and elsewhere. It is these bronzes, above all, that furnish illustrations for Pliny's types of statuary at Rome.

#### TERRA COTTA (*Plastike*).

In terra cotta sculpture, the evidence is relatively clear and the main outline of Pliny's account is generally accepted. According to Pliny (35.151, 152, 157), the art of modelling in clay was a Greek invention, discovered or developed by Boutades of Sicyon, a tile maker at Corinth. His particular invention was the antefix decorated with a human head. This art became a specialty in Italy, particularly among the Etruscans, who learned it from three Greek craftsmen, Eucheir, Diopus and Eugrammon. These men were followers of Damaratus, a nobleman of Corinth who fled to Etruria at the time of the expulsion of the Bacchiadae and there became the father of the elder Tarquin. So expert did the Etruscans become in this art that the elder Tarquin brought an Etruscan artist, Vulca of Veii, to Rome to make the terra cotta cult statue of Jupiter for the Capitolium (35.157). The ornaments on the roof of this temple were terra cotta quadrigas, also made by Veientine artists (35.157; 28.16).<sup>14</sup> In fact, all of

<sup>13</sup> Elmer G. Suhr, *Sculptured Portraits of Greek Statesmen*, ("The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology," no. 13 Baltimore 1931) 11.

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch, *Poplicola* 13.

the temples at Rome were decorated with terra cottas in the Etruscan style until the temple of Ceres was built on the Aventine. Its decorations were also of painted terra cotta but they were made by two Greek artists, Damophilos and Gorgasos (35.154). The custom of making cult statues of terra cotta was peculiarly Italian (34.34) and continued in use for a long while; examples of this fashion could still be seen in Pliny's day, "excellent in art and durability, more sacred than gold, certainly more innocuous." (35.158).

It has often been pointed out that, if one leaves out proper names and particular events, this outline of Pliny's fits the archaeological record very well indeed. Among the earliest terra cotta antefixes with a human head are examples from Thermon, Corfu and Calydon, and these are in the Corinthian style.<sup>15</sup> And, although the terra cotta temple decorations found in Etruria are certainly not particularly Corinthian in style, the Corinthian type of antefix decorated with a human head is infinitely popular in Etruria.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, one may say that the date of the expulsion of the Bacchiadae from Corinth (655 B. C.) falls in the period when Greek products and Greek styles, as distinct from more generally "Orientalizing" styles, were first introduced into Etruria in any quantity. As for the Etruscan temple terra cottas at Rome, a number of fragments of archaic temple revetments in the Etruscan style have been found there, often at the sites of ancient temples, or at places where tradition says ancient buildings stood.<sup>17</sup>

There is nothing left of the famous terra cottas that Pliny mentions specifically, the Veientine figures from the Capitolium. The great quadriga on the summit of the temple had been replaced by a bronze group in 296 B. C.,<sup>18</sup> and the cult statue of Jupiter, the work of Vulca of Veii, was destroyed in the fire which burned the temple in 83 B. C.<sup>19</sup>

Pliny, who never saw this statue, says only that it was made of clay and painted with minium (35.157), but there are references in other Roman writers which give us more details. Servius, in describing the insignia worn by a

<sup>15</sup> H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) 249; dated, p. 234, late 7th century. F. Poulsen and K. Rhomaïos, "Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die dänisch-griechischen Ausgrabungen von Kalydon," *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk filologiske Meddelelser* 14, 3 (Copenhagen 1927) 26, fig. 41. E. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion, der Tempelbezirk von Kalydon*, (Copenhagen 1948) 138 ff., pl. XVI, fig. 156.

<sup>16</sup> Arvid Andréén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, ("Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom," 6, Lund/Leipzig 1940) I, cxlii.

<sup>17</sup> E. Douglas Van Buren, "Architectural Terra Cotta Ornamentation in Rome from the Sixth to the Fourth Century B. C.," *JRS* 4 (1914) 183. Inez Scott Ryberg, *An Archaeological Record of Rome*, ("Studies and Documents," edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, 13, London 1940) Chap. 7, 177 ff., pls. 45-50. Andréén, I 324 ff., II pls. 103-112.

<sup>18</sup> Livy, 10.23.12.

<sup>19</sup> Cicero, *In Catilinam* III 9. Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 47.2.

Roman general at his triumph, mentions a sceptre and an embroidered tunic, the *palmata*, as well as the red paint which was daubed on the face of the general in imitation of the statue's.<sup>20</sup> Juvenal tells us that in addition to the sceptre and the *palmata* the triumphator wore an embroidered toga (the *toga picta*) and had a crown suspended over his head as he drove through the streets in a gilded chariot on the way to the Capitoline.<sup>21</sup> The tunic, the embroidered toga and the crown of jewelled golden oak leaves were part of the treasure of Jupiter Optimus Māximus.<sup>22</sup> The chariot and the slave to hold the crown, which Juvenal also mentions, presumably belong to the triumphing general rather than to the god or his statue. They are part of the classic Greek iconography of victory and were used for statues of victors in the chariot race; many examples can be seen on coins of Syracuse and other Sicilian cities.<sup>23</sup> Pliny says that this Greek type of statue was the origin of the honorary chariot groups at Rome (34.19). In this stately manner Titus appears crowned by Victory on the relief from his arch at the entrance to the Forum.<sup>24</sup>

One other object is added by some authors to the insignia of the triumphators, the *sella curulis*. Servius is the only authority who says that it could be used only by a man who had driven in the triumphal chariot,<sup>25</sup> and, in fact, he must be wrong about this, since the curule chair was the prerogative of all curule magistrates,<sup>26</sup> and they certainly did not all receive triumphs. The ivory chair is mentioned by Livy among the symbols of honor granted to distinguished citizens,<sup>27</sup> and Dionysius includes it with the sceptre and the gold-embroidered purple toga and tunic which, as emblems of sovereignty, were brought to Tarquin by the Roman ambassadors to indicate their submission.<sup>28</sup>

The *sella curulis* should perhaps be counted among the insignia of the Capitoline Jupiter; the tunic, the toga, the crown and the ivory sceptre are more certainly his. But whether these were part of the statue of the god or mere-

<sup>20</sup> Servius, in *Bucolica et Georgica*, on Eclogue 10.27.

<sup>21</sup> Juvenal, 10.36-43.

<sup>22</sup> *Historia Augusta, Vita Alexandri Severi* 40.8; *Gordiani* 4.4. Tertullian, *De Corona* 13. Lillian M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga* ("The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology," no. 1, Baltimore 1924) 85.

<sup>23</sup> Reginald Stuart Poole, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Sicily* (London 1876): Agrigentum, p. 9, nos. 53-58; Catania, p. 43 no. 17, p. 45, nos. 27-35; Gela, p. 65, nos. 3-15, p. 69, nos. 36-50, 54, 57-59; Himera, p. 81, no. 48; Leontini, p. 87, nos. 9-11; Syracuse, p. 145, nos. 1, 2, 4, 7-19, 22-45, p. 153, nos. 63-73, 80-125, 140-161, 164-166, 173-224.

<sup>24</sup> Franz Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, tr. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong (London 1900) 76 ff., fig. 30. *CAH* vol. V of Plates (Cambridge 1939) 78 B.

<sup>25</sup> Servius, on *Aeneid* 11.334.

<sup>26</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 3.18.4.

<sup>27</sup> Livy, 10.7.9.

<sup>28</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 3.61.1.

ly part of his treasure in his temple is left in doubt. The statue of Jupiter that was made to replace Vulca's after the fire of 83 B. C. was seated,<sup>29</sup> which may or may not indicate that the earlier one was too. Ovid, in the *Fasti*, describes an ancient terra cotta statue of Jupiter, standing and brandishing the thunderbolt,<sup>30</sup> but there is no proof that this was the Capitoline Jupiter, though Ovid goes on to describe the Capitoline hill. It may have been some other archaic terra cotta figure, or Ovid may have been making a typically Augustan reference to the good old days before luxury had corrupted Rome and not have had any particular statue in mind at all.

However, both types of Jupiter, the seated divinity and the standing god brandishing the thunderbolt, do occur among the extant bronzes of the late archaic period. The seated example is a small Greek bronze of the late sixth century from Arcadia,<sup>31</sup> a bearded figure in chiton and himation holding the thunderbolt in the left hand and a curved staff like the Etruscan *lituus* in the right.<sup>32</sup> The standing god is represented by two Etruscan bronzes, one in Berlin and one in Cleveland (Figs. 1 and 2).<sup>33</sup> These figures wear a sleeved tunic reaching half-way below the knee and a cloak over the left shoulder. The cloak of the Cleveland bronze is unmistakably rectangular; the Berlin figure's may have a curved edge. The Etruscans of the fifth century wore cloaks of both shapes; the classic Roman toga was semicircular, but it may be that the archaic toga was not.<sup>34</sup> The two Jupiters brandish a thunderbolt in the raised right hand; the left hand is stretched out and holds a rod-like object that may once have been a sceptre. Both date



Fig. 1. — Etruscan Jupiter, early fifth century, Berlin Museum, Fr. 2170.

<sup>29</sup> A. Kirsopp Lake, "Archaeological Evidence for the Tuscan Temple," *MAAR* 12 (1934) appendix 1, p. 139.

<sup>30</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 1. 201-202.

<sup>31</sup> Athens, National Museum no. 13209. V. Stais, *Marbres et bronzes du musée national* (Athens 1910) 315. K. Kurouniotis, *Eph* (1904) 185 f., figs. 12-14. Winifred Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London 1929) pl. XXVI c.

<sup>32</sup> Gustav Körte, "Göttinger Bronzen," *Abh. K. Gesells. der Wiss. zu Göttingen. Philol-histor. Kl. NF.* 16 (1917) 21.

<sup>33</sup> Berlin, Fr. 2170, ht. 3 5/6 inches. Cleveland 28.196, ht. w. base 5 1/2 inches.

<sup>34</sup> Wilson, *The Roman Toga* 19.

from the early fifth century, though the bronze in Cleveland is probably later and certainly more classic in appearance than the figure in Berlin. The type is a variant of the Greek Zeus Keraunios,<sup>35</sup> but Greek figures of Zeus the Thunderer are nude. There is, however, a late archaic limestone statue from Cyprus<sup>36</sup> which represents a bearded man in chiton and cloak striding forward



Fig. 2. — Etruscan Jupiter, early fifth century, Cleveland 28.196.

and brandishing some weapon whose stub is still in his right hand. Whether or not this Cypriote figure represented Zeus, the type is the nearest parallel outside Italy to the two Etruscan bronze figures of *Jupiter Tonans*.

A terra cotta head from Satricum, of the first years of the fifth century, represents a bearded god, presumably Jupiter, one of the figures that stood on the ridgepole of the temple of the *Mater Matuta*.<sup>37</sup> The type of the head is in general the same as that of the two bronze Jupiters, though the terra cotta is a far more distinguished piece of sculpture. Together, the bronzes and the terra cotta give some idea of how Jupiter looked to the sculptors of Central Italy at the beginning of the fifth century.

This, however, is no indication that they looked like Vulca's Jupiter. The traditional dates of Vulca's Roman patron, Tarquinius Priscus, are 616–579 B. C., so the type of Vulca's statue ought to belong to the early sixth century. But even the

Greek bronze from Arcadia, the seated Zeus, is a late sixth century figure; so is the limestone statue from Cyprus, the ante-type of the Etruscan standing Jupiters. And there is no figure from Etruria or Central Italy which can with certainty be recognized as a Jupiter older than these two bronzes and the terra cotta head from Satricum of the beginning of the fifth century.

<sup>35</sup> G. W. Elderkin, "Bronze statuettes of Zeus Keraunios," *AJA* 44 (1940) 225 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Einar Gjerstad, "Die schwedischen Ausgrabungen auf Cypern," *Die Antike* 9 (1933) 269, fig. 4. Idem, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* III (Stockholm 1937) 32, Pls. XIV–XV.

<sup>37</sup> Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, N. Inv. 9982. *NS* (1896) 40, fig. 14 and 14 a. P. Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca* (Florence 1927) I, 255, II fig. 268. G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan 1935) pls. CXCIX, CC.

Vulca made a second statue at Rome, according to Pliny, the clay Hercules, still to be seen at Rome in Pliny's day (35.157). No other ancient writer mentions it.<sup>38</sup> Since Pliny speaks of it in the same sentence as the statue of Jupiter by Vulca and the Veientine quadriga just before a panegyric of the ancient terra cotta cult statues, it must have been either a cult statue or an architectural decoration; and since Vulca made it as well as the Jupiter, the probabilities are that it was a cult statue. If so, the temple for which it was made is not known.

The earliest Etruscan free standing figures of Hercules do, in fact, belong to a type that looks like a cult statue. It is a common type in Italy. Its ancestry is Cypriote,<sup>39</sup> as that of the Etruscan Jupiter may have been (Fig. 3).<sup>40</sup> This type of Hercules stands in a not very menacing attitude, his club swung over the right shoulder, his left hand at his side, usually grasping something—a fawn, another weapon, the tail of his own lion's skin. The skin is worn like a tail coat; the mask makes a cap for Hercules' head; the forepaws are knotted across the breast; the skin is pinned together in front at the waist, and the hindpaws dangle down Hercules' legs. Sometimes the hero wears a shirt under his skin coat: this is like the costume worn by Greek Herakles on Attic Black-Figure and early Red-Figure vases.<sup>41</sup> Figures of Hercules in action, wearing this costume, appear on Etruscan reliefs and decorative bronzes in the last quarter of the sixth century (Fig. 4),<sup>42</sup> but Hercules as a free-standing figure, a votive or hieratic type, is not known in Etruria before the beginning of the fifth.



Fig. 3. — Etruscan Hercules, early fifth century, Berlin Museum Fr. 2163.

Like the Jupiter figures, the Etruscan Hercules are not old enough to fit

<sup>38</sup> K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London 1896) 181, note on Pliny, 35.157.9. Ferri, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9) 213 note.

<sup>39</sup> Jean Bayet, *Herclé, Etude critique des principaux monuments relatifs à l'Hercule étrusque* (Paris 1926) Chap. 2, 34 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Berlin, Fr. 2163, hr. 3 1/4 in., formerly Pourtales Collection. K. A. Neugebauer, "Archaische Vulcenter Bronzen," *JDAI* 58 (1943) 270, fig. 47.

<sup>41</sup> J. O. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure, A Sketch*, ("Annual Lecture on Aspects of Art," British Academy, London 1928), 6, pl. I, 1, kylix in the British Museum, B. 424, Herakles introduced to Olympus. Vase by Andocides Painter, Boston 99.583, Herakles driving an ox; Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, 1918), 3, 4, fig. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Toronto, C A 314. Bayet, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39) 3 and 35.

the tradition of Vulca of Veii which Pliny records. Both types, however, do belong to the same generation as the remarkable series of late archaic terra cotta statues actually found at Veii. They stood on the ridgepole of the temple, and apparently there were several groups of figures, not all by the same hand.<sup>43</sup> Taken altogether, they are perhaps the handsomest examples of terra cotta sculpture yet found in Italy. Because the statues come from Veii, and are



Fig. 4. Relief of Hercules and a woman, late sixth century, Toronto C A 314.

obviously the work of a master sculptor, or sculptors, whom any Tarquin would be proud to employ, they (particularly the group which includes the Apollo) are often attributed to Vulca, in spite of their style, which is very late archaic, and it is assumed that Pliny mixed up his Tarquins and should have said that the younger was Vulca's patron rather than the elder.<sup>44</sup> This idea is appealing, but there is no way to prove it, and the terra cottas from Veii can only be said to prove the general excellence of the Veientine sculptors and to explain why it was from Veii that the Romans brought an artist to make their first cult statue and other artists to decorate the roof of their great temple. Incidentally, one of these terra cottas, the torso of a nude male divinity, cut off below the hips as if the legs were to be concealed by some other object, is assumed to be a Jupiter riding in a chariot<sup>45</sup> and may well be taken as an illustration of those quadrigas that stood on the roof of the Capitolium at Rome.

<sup>43</sup> Rome, in the Villa Giulia Museum; G. Q. Giglioli, *NS* (1919) 13 ff.; *L'Arte Etrusca*, pls. CLXXXIX-CXCVI. M. Pallottino, *La Scuola di Vulca* ("Quaderni di Storia dell'Arte," diretti da Valerio Mariani, Rome 1945) 6 and 7.

<sup>44</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1940) Chap. 3, p. 24 n. 17.

<sup>45</sup> Pallottino, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 43) 7, pl. 13.

Pliny mentions no other archaic terra cotta statues at Rome, although he says that such figures could still be seen in many parts of Italy even in his day and that temples decorated with terra cottas still existed even in Rome (35.158).

The rest of Pliny's discussion of clay statues at Rome is concerned with the sculpture of the last century of the Republic, the decorative fruits (reliefs?) of one Possis, and the clay models used by the sculptors Arcesilaos and Pasiteles (35.155).

#### BRONZES (*Statuaria*).

The bronzes of Rome consisted of a few statues of gods and many statues of men, particularly honorary statues and dedications in public places. Pliny remarks on the scarcity of bronze images of divinities: although the art of bronze casting was very old in Italy, the figures of gods dedicated in temples were of wood or terra cotta until the conquest of Asia, from which came the taste for luxury (34.34). Most of the bronze statues of gods at Rome were Greek importations.

But the first of these was Roman, a figure of Ceres made from the property of Spurius Cassius, who was put to death by his own father in 484 B. C. for trying to make himself king (34.15). According to Livy, Spurius' property was devoted to Ceres and from it a statue was made and inscribed as the gift of the *familia Cassia*.<sup>46</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who also mentions this episode, speaks of several statues dedicated to Ceres and still other figures dedicated in other shrines.<sup>47</sup> Neither Livy nor Dionysius says, as Pliny does (1: *Libro xxxiv continentur: quod primum dei simulacrum Romae ex aere factum*) that the statue, or statues, were images of Ceres. In any case, it was clearly not the cult statue of the goddess but a figure, or figures, dedicated to her by the family of Spurius Cassius as a piacular offering for his crime.<sup>48</sup>

Since the cult of Ceres at Rome was Greek, celebrated in the Greek language by Greek priestesses from Naples or Velia,<sup>49</sup> and since her temple, built in 495 B. C.,

<sup>46</sup> Livy, 2.41.10.

<sup>47</sup> Dionysius, 8.79.3.

<sup>48</sup> This is by no means the only instance of such an offering in antiquity. Pausanias (5.21.3) describes a series of such figures, a row of *Zanes* set up on the Altis at Olympia. These statues were made from the fines inflicted on athletes who deliberately broke the rules of the Olympic contests. And Livy (33.25) mentions a similar group of statues, figures of Ceres, Liber and Libera, set up by the plebeian aediles in 197 B. C. from fines inflicted at the Plebeian Games. The Cassian dedication is the oldest recorded example of a statue made from fines, but that, in itself, does not make it actually the oldest, though its prominence in Livy, Dionysius and Pliny suggests that it was the first at Rome.

<sup>49</sup> Cicero, *pro L. Cornelio Balbo* 55.

had been decorated by two Greek artists (35.154), it seems likely that the type used at Rome for a statue of Ceres, in the early fifth century, would be Greek too. There are innumerable terra cottas, particularly from the Sicilian cities, to illustrate types used to represent Demeter there in the early fifth century,<sup>50</sup> but bronze Demeters are scarce. There is, however, one little figure from Etruria in the British Museum (Fig. 5) described as "Demeter seated in a rustic



Fig. 5. — Ceres, early fifth century, British Museum 602.

car—;"<sup>51</sup> she sits on a doubled-over horse's hide and holds an object in her left hand which seems to be of plaited straw.<sup>52</sup> This is not a common type for the

<sup>50</sup> For example: from Camarina, R. Kekulé, *Die antiken Terrakotten II, Die Terrakotten von Sicilien* (Berlin 1884) pl. IV, 1; from Terra vecchia di Grammichele, P. Orsi, *MonAnt* 7 (1897) 235 ff., figs. 25–30, pl. VII; from Selinunte, E. Gabrici, *MonAnt* 32 (1928) 292, pl. LXXIV, 1 and 8; from Agrigento, B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica II* (1938) 81, fig. 80; G. E. Rizzo, "Busti fittili di Agrigento," *JOAI* 13 (1910) 63 ff., pls. 1 and 2.

<sup>51</sup> London, British Museum, H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London 1899) no. 602, ht. 4 in., length 8 1/2 in. "From Amelia in Etruria." P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika* (Copenhagen 1941) 123 n. 1, "according to BdI 1864 p. 265 no. 6 it was formerly in a private collection in Sarteano."

<sup>52</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Ashmole and Mr. Haynes of the British Museum for the following information about the bronze: only one of the flowers is ancient, the other is a modern cast. The ancient flower was not designed to be the wheel and half-axle of a cart; the stem is curved, pinched

goddess, though indeed, she is hard to recognize unless she has some special attribute such as a torch, a pig or ears of grain or poppies.<sup>53</sup> But there are coins that show Demeter in a car or chariot,<sup>54</sup> and the small Etruscan bronze appears to represent a divinity (at least, her elegant chiton, shawl and shoes, and the twisted braids of her hair are not what one would expect a farm woman to wear), and a divinity of the countryside, to judge from the farm cart, the horse-hide blanket and the plait of straw. At any rate, the bronze belongs to the first half of the fifth century, so it is at least a contemporary of the Cassian dedication, and a possible type for it. It is to be noticed that there is nothing about this unmistakably Etruscan bronze, in type or costume, that is not Greek in origin.

Pliny mentions four other bronze figures of gods at Rome, not counting the Greek imports. Two were colossal statues (34.43 *factitavit colossos et Italia*). The first of these was the Tuscan Apollo in the library of the temple of Augustus; it was fifty feet tall and marvellous both for its bronze and its beauty (34.43). Pliny gives no indication of its date.

Apollo was known in South Italy undoubtedly from the founding of the first Greek colonies. Cumae, in fact, the oldest of them, became one of his important oracular shrines. According to the tradition in Herodotus,<sup>55</sup> the Etruscans of Caere consulted the oracle at Delphi in 540 B. C. after the massacre of the Phocaeans; this is the earliest record of Etruscan interest in Apollo. The god was worshipped at Rome, certainly from the beginning of the Republic<sup>56</sup> and according to Roman tradition even earlier: the last king of Rome, Tarquin the Proud, bought the Sibylline books from the Cumaeian Sibyl and sent the first official Roman mission to Delphi.<sup>57</sup>

The oldest sculptured "Tuscan Apollo" is the terra cotta from the Veientine group. There are two bronze Etruscan Apollos of the fourth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale. One, the Apollo of Ferrara,<sup>58</sup> is nude except for high

flat, with a hole pierced in the end. Without the wheels, the cart looks very like the one in the Etruscan farmyard set in New York. The figure of Demeter should have a box or cushion under the horse hide to bring her up to the right height, but there is a well-patinated groove under her feet which fits the pole of the cart, so that the two seem to belong together. The chief reason for considering her a Demeter is the plait of straw in her left hand.

<sup>53</sup> R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1907) III, 124, notes to Chap. 2, 162 b, 163 d, 342-343.

<sup>54</sup> Poole, *Greek Coins, Sicily: Enna* p. 58 no. 1: Obv. Quadriga driven by Demeter holding torch and reins.

<sup>55</sup> Herodotus, 1.167.2.

<sup>56</sup> Lily Ross Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria* ("Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome", 2, 1923) 78.

<sup>57</sup> Gellius, 1.19; Livy, 1.56.4-12.

<sup>58</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, E. Babelon et J. A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1895) no. 101, ht. 27.2 cm., Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) pl. CCCLXVII, 1.

boots and a chlamys wrapped around the right forearm. He is crowned with a laurel wreath and wears a necklace and a bracelet on the left upper arm, both decorated with bullas. The second, a small figure from the top of a candlestick (Fig. 6),<sup>59</sup> wears a cloak kilted around the hips and a crown on his head; he carries a lyre in one hand and a plectrum in the other. He too wears a necklace and bracelet decorated with bullas. Such ornaments are peculiarly Etruscan; similar necklaces are worn, for example, by Apollo again and by Bacchus and a young faun playing the double flute on a well-known mirror, of the late fourth century from Vulci, in Berlin.<sup>60</sup> Except for the jewelry, and the way in which the Apollo on the candlestick wears his cloak, the type of these two bronzes is taken from fourth century Greece.



Fig. 6. - Apollo from the top of a candlestick, fourth century, Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 100.

Still, there is no way to tell whether the Apollo in Augustus' temple was of this elegant ephebos type—and one cannot, help feeling that either of these small bronzes would look horrible if it were fifty feet high—or whether it was like the vigorous late archaic figure from Veii, with its sinister fighting grin, or whether it was of yet another type.

The second colossal bronze mentioned by Pliny was the statue of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill dedicated by the consul Spurius Carvilius, who defeated the Samnites in 293 B. C. It was made from the actual spoils of the battle, the Samnite breastplates and helmets and greaves, and it was big enough to be seen from the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount. From the filings the consul had a portrait of himself made to stand at the god's feet (34.43).

A colossal bronze figure on a hill reminds one of Phidias' Athena Promachos which towered on the Acropolis at Athens so that her helmet and spearpoint could be seen by ships as they sailed past Sunium.<sup>61</sup> The Athena was made from the spoils of Marathon, though perhaps not literally from the Persian armor. The very idea of erecting such a thank-offering for victory seems to be Greek, and Olof Vessberg points out that the statue in Rome,

<sup>59</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 100, ht. 16.2 cm. J. Babelon, *Choix des bronzes et des terres cuites des collections de Janzé et Oppermann* (Paris 1929) pl. 18, no. 22.

<sup>60</sup> Berlin Antiquarium. Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) pl. CCXCVI, 1 and 2.

<sup>61</sup> Pausanias, 1.28.2.

which was the first important monument to be erected for one hundred years, dates from a period when Rome had come again into close contact with the Hellenized civilization of Campania and the Greek states of South Italy.<sup>62</sup>

The "portrait of the donor" which stood at the statue's feet seems to be taken from a Greek custom too. Phidias is said to have put a portrait of Pericles and his own among the reliefs on the shield of the Athena Parthenos.<sup>63</sup> This caused a scandal in fifth century Athens, but nevertheless Pausanias mentions a number of statues of divinities in Greece with portraits at their feet.<sup>64</sup> The closest parallel to the Carvilius dedication is the portrait of the Plataean general Arimnestus which stood at the feet of the statue of Athena Areia in Plataea.<sup>65</sup>

The colossal statue of Jupiter on the Capitoline was set up in the early years of the third century B. C. Since the idea of such a statue is apparently Greek, the type might be expected to be Greek as well, presumably of the fourth century, which would suggest a certain neo-Phidian flavor. There happens to be a Roman type of standing Jupiter based on a "Phidian" original and known from many small examples of the Imperial period:<sup>66</sup> one of the handsomest is in Florence (Fig. 7).<sup>67</sup> The right hand is lowered and holds a thunderbolt; the left arm is bent and held a sceptre; there is a cloak hanging over the right shoulder. This combination of details has led some scholars to identify another bronze in Florence, a small Etruscan figure of the fourth century, as Jupiter too (Fig. 8).<sup>68</sup>



Fig. 7. - Jupiter, Roman Imperial, Florence, Museo Archeologico; Photo Brogi.

<sup>62</sup> O. Vessberg, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) 93.

<sup>63</sup> Plutarch, *Pericles* 31.4.

<sup>64</sup> Pausanias, 2.23.4, 8.31.2, 8.53.8.

<sup>65</sup> Pausanias, 9.4.2. Pausanias does not say whether the portrait statue was also the work of Phidias; the implication is rather that it was not, and there is no indication whether the two statues were contemporary.

<sup>66</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum* (New York 1915) no. 201 and references. Dorothy Kent Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore 1949) Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, pls. 5 and 6.

<sup>67</sup> L. A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Florence 1912) I, 169 f., no. 2291; II, pl. CXXXVI. W. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz* (Munich 1897) 263, no. 258.

<sup>68</sup> Milani, *op. cit.* I, 139, no. 72986; II, pl. XXXI, 2, the Strozzi Jupiter. Ducati, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) I, 318; II, fig. 350. Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) pl. CCXX, 6.

Imperial bronze, with the head turned to the right and downward. The left arm is hidden in the cloak which hangs over the shoulder; the right hand has lost whatever object it once held. Since the distinguishing attribute is lost, there would seem to be nothing to indicate that this bearded figure is actually Jupiter: he might merely be a worshipper holding a patera for libation in the right hand, as in fact Ducati believes. However, although the type of a male votive figure holding a patera is very common in Etruria in the Classical period and later, all such figures, until late in the Hellenistic period, when all Etruscan types were subject to overwhelming Greek influence, wear a cloak wrapped around the hips like a petticoat or covering the left shoulder as well.<sup>69</sup> This was Roman practice too: the *victimarii* on reliefs of the Republic and Empire always wear at least a breechclout of some kind, while the officiating priest wears a big cloak.<sup>70</sup>

This makes it unlikely that the fourth-century Etruscan bronze in Florence is a figure of a worshipper. Since the general type, and in particular the fashion of wearing the cloak, resembles the Imperial bronze Jupiter, the Etruscan figure may perhaps be identified as Jupiter, even without attribute. Two other bronzes from Etruria, also of the fourth century, and of the same general type, are unmistakably Jupiters (Figs. 9 and 10).<sup>71</sup> Both stand with the weight on the left leg, the right bent at the knee; they hold a thunderbolt in the lowered right hand, the head is slightly raised and turned to the left. The figure in the Walters Gallery is bearded, the head seems more archaic in style than the body; the cloak hangs over the left forearm and the left hand may once have held a sceptre. The bronze in Berlin wears the cloak over the left shoulder, and grasps it with the left hand. The face is clean-shaven, as Jupiter also appears on an Etruscan mirror in Florence decorated with reliefs of three gods, inscribed Aplu, Tinia (Jupiter) and Turmus.<sup>72</sup> The beardless Jupiter is not, however, a purely Etruscan type: Pausanias mentions three statues at Olympia representing the Greek Zeus as a boy or beardless youth.<sup>73</sup>

Whether or not Carvilius' Jupiter resembled this type, one can at least say with certainty that the Roman Imperial bronzes reproduce a type of Jupiter which, though undoubtedly Greek in origin, was well-known in Etruria in the fourth century. The Romans may have got the idea of a standing god as a

<sup>69</sup> Bologna, bronze from Monteguragazzo, *NS* (1882) 368 f. M. Guarducci, *RendLinc* Ser. 6, 2 (1926) 282 ff. Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. CCXX 1 and 2. D. K. Hill, *Walters Gallery* nos. 124-136, pls. 29 and 30.

<sup>70</sup> Körte, *Göttinger Bronzen*, 27, VII-VIII. Ryberg, *Arch. Record*. 195 ff., pls. 52-53. André, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16) II, pl. 110 A 6, 112 A 5.

<sup>71</sup> D. K. Hill, *Walters Gallery* no. 19, pl. 9. Berlin Inv. 7772, *AZ* (1883) 271, from the territory of the Paeligni.

<sup>72</sup> Milani, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 67) I, 143, no. 74831; II, pl. XXXVII.

<sup>73</sup> Pausanias, 5.22.1; 5.24.5-6.

victory monument from the Greeks, but they did not have to go to South Italy for a Greek type of standing Jupiter. Incidentally, to see that an Etruscan Jupiter of that time could be a handsome and stately figure, look at the bearded head of the god from the pediment of the temple of the Via San' Leonardo at Orvieto or at the terra cotta head found at Falerii in 1942, which seems to be



Fig. 8. – Etruscan Jupiter, Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 72986.



Fig. 9. – Etruscan Jupiter, probably fourth century, Walters Art Gallery no. 19.



Fig. 10. – Etruscan Jupiter, fourth century, Berlin Museum Inv. 7772.

a close imitation of the Phidian Zeus.<sup>74</sup> The head from Orvieto is actually an ante-type of the head of the Imperial bronze in Florence.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the quantity of Roman Imperial bronzes of this type indicates that they reproduce a famous statue. The ancients certainly had no feeling against reproductions of their own cult statues; the many illustrations of Phidias' Olympian Zeus on coins show that the Greeks indeed

<sup>74</sup> Andrén, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 16) I, 159, 160, no. I; 164, dated late fifth century; II, pl. 59. Ducati, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) II, pl. 201, figs. 499, 500. Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) pl. CCCXXI, 5. M. Santangelo, *Bollettino d'Arte* 33 (1948) 1 ff.

rather made a feature of such reproductions. Carvilius' Jupiter was by no means as famous as Phidias'; in fact, Pliny is the only ancient writer who mentions it; he speaks as though he himself had seen the statue (though it is never safe to assume that Pliny, when he uses the present tense, is not merely quoting directly from an earlier source). But since the Romans of the Imperial period did so often make copies of Greek statues of gods as well as of men, they may occasionally have put in their *lararia* a copy of a Roman statue as well.

Another Roman Jupiter is probably represented, as Neugebauer pointed out,<sup>75</sup> by a series of small bronzes of the Imperial period.<sup>76</sup> The god sits on a throne, holding the thunderbolt in one hand and a tall sceptre in the other. It is evidently a variant of Phidias' Olympian Zeus. When the Capitolium at Rome was destroyed by the fire of 83 B. C., Vulca's terra cotta Jupiter was replaced by a gold and ivory figure, the work of one Apollonius. It is classed with Phidias' Zeus by Arnobius, and Roman coins of the early Empire show the statue seated in the temple; it is of the same "Olympian" type as the small bronzes.<sup>77</sup>

The two other bronze gods that Pliny mentions were, he thought, very ancient, a Hercules dedicated by Evander in the Forum Boarium and a Janus Geminus dedicated by king Numa (34.33). These were, he believed, representatives of the most ancient art of bronze statuary in Italy. This contradicts Pliny's earlier statement that the first bronze statue of a god at Rome was the fifth century figure of Ceres (34.15), and it also contradicts Varro, Plutarch and Tertullian, who say that there were no statues of gods in Rome for a hundred and seventy years after the founding of the city, and that the first was the Capitoline Jupiter.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Karl Anton Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten* (Berlin 1921) 113. D. K. Hill, *Walters Gallery* 12.

<sup>76</sup> At least four in the United States: Metropolitan Museum of Art, G. R. 37. Richter, *Bronzes* no. 200; another without sceptre, Metropolitan Museum 17.230.32; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, no. 98. 678; Baltimore, D. K. Hill, *Walters Gallery* no. 18, pl. 5, in which the thunderbolt is replaced by a patera.

<sup>77</sup> Chalcidius on Plato's, *Timaeus* 338, p. 361, ed. Wröbel (Leipzig 1876). Sellers, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 38) note to Pliny 35.157.7. Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* 6.16. *Olympiacos illos et Capitolinos Ioves*. See J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig 1868) 431, no. 2215. Lake, *Tuscan Temple* 105, n. 1; Appendix I, p. 139. H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* I (London 1923) 307, no. 70, pl. 51, 22. "Rev. I. O. Max. CAPITOLINVS. Jupiter, w. mantle falling down from waist, seated l. in temple, which shows 2 columns, holding *fulmen* in r. hand and sceptre in l.; in pediment a wreath." Mattingly I 392, no. 118, pl. 62, 2. "Rev., Jupiter, naked to the waist, seated left in the temple which shows 2 columns, holding *fulmen* in r. hand and sceptre in l."

<sup>78</sup> Vessberg, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) 5; references to Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 4.31 (quoting Varro); Plutarch, *Numa* 8.13; Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 25.12. f. Vessberg believes that Pliny is probably recording a verbal tradition about the Hercules and Janus, a tradition that developed after Varro's death.

However, the fact that Pliny contradicts himself and other authorities does not, by itself, prove that the two statues did not exist, or even that they were not relatively old. The "Hercules which is called Triumphalis" is not mentioned by any other authority. Tacitus speaks of the altar of Hercules dedicated by Evander, and Livy and Virgil both use the story of Hercules and Cacus and Evander's introduction of his cult into Rome.<sup>79</sup> The cult of Hercules in the Forum Boarium was apparently really old and really Greek;<sup>80</sup> but for the statue, if there actually was one from the archaic period, there is no type from Italy other than the "Cypriote" Hercules of the beginning of the fifth century (Fig. 3). It is, of course,



Fig. 11. — Janus, libral *as*, Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

perfectly possible to imagine a bronze of this type at Rome.

As for the Janus Geminus, his temple stood in the Forum;<sup>81</sup> the god was apparently a native Italic divinity, and his cult at Rome was old.<sup>82</sup>

The oldest Roman representations of the god appear on the libral *as* (Fig. 11)<sup>83</sup> where the heads are of a fourth century type. The original of the design on the coin seems to be a Greek double herm, but the statue that Pliny talks about cannot have been merely a herm, since it had hands with fingers bent to indicate the CCCLXV days of the year.



Fig. 12. — Terra cotta perfume bottle in the form of Aphrodite, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<sup>79</sup> Tacitus, *Annales* 15.41. Livy, 1.7.3. ff. Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.102 ff.

<sup>80</sup> W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London 1933) 230, and n. 11, p. 243.

<sup>81</sup> Georg Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* 2nd ed. (Munich 1912) 105. Mattingly, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 77) I 215, no. 112, pl. 41, 1; "Obv. view of temple of Janus, showing one front, a closed door with a wreath hung across the top, and the left-hand side with a latticed window across it about half way up." W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (London 1916) 286.

<sup>82</sup> Wissowa, *op. cit.* 103. W. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience* 127.

<sup>83</sup> *Aes Grave* circa 338–269 B.C., Boston Museum of Fine Arts; G. F. Hill, *Historical Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Augustus* (London 1909) 1, 1; pl. 1.

Macrobius <sup>84</sup> describes a type of Janus statue whose hands held the number of days of the year; he says the type was common; if so, there are no examples of it preserved.

Actually, an archaic Janiform statue is not uncommon. There are; for example, terra cotta perfume bottles in the shape of a Janiform Aphrodite (Fig. 12), and there is a Janiform bucchero protome from Veii in the Villa Giulia museum.<sup>85</sup> Moreover, the fingers of an archaic bronze statue could be, and were, bent into C's and L's and V's, or into shapes which later generations might think were those letters. Such gestures are not characteristic of Greek bronzes but they are very common among the late archaic bronzes of Etruria.<sup>86</sup>

This concludes Pliny's account of the bronze statues of gods made for the city of Rome.

### STATUES OF MEN

*Transiit et a diis ad hominum statuas atque imagines multis modis* (34.15). The central and much the longest section of Pliny's chapter on Roman bronzes describes the statues of famous men which stood in public places in Rome, for the most part in the Forum or on the Capitoline Hill. Most of them were either private dedications set up by individuals in the sanctuaries of the gods, such as the statue dedicated by Mancinus and the more than lifesize figure of L. Accius, the poet, in the shrine of the Camenae (34.18-19), or they were statues erected by the state to honor distinguished citizens.

Pliny first considers the origin of honorary statues (34.16-17), then the types used for statues of men at Rome (34.18-20, the same types were used there, as in Greece, for votive and honorary figures), and finally he describes the outstanding examples, bronzes conspicuous either because of their subject, or, sometimes, because of their type (34.21-32).

The following is a paraphrase of Pliny's account of the origin of the custom of honoring men with statues (34.16-17). The Greeks were the first to erect honorary statues to men, and they did so only if the men were worthy of immortality for some outstanding reason, originally for a victory at one of the

<sup>84</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.9.10.

<sup>85</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, terra cotta "said to be from Sicily." See C. Albizzati in *Antike Plastik: W. Amelung zum 60 Geburtstag* (Berlin 1928) 1 ff.; *BMAA* (1930) 242 ff.; Beazley and Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting* (Cambridge 1932) 18, fig. 31. Museo di Villa Giulia No. 3203. Cf. also a small Etruscan bronze herm with two young male heads, late archaic, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cat. no. 734.

<sup>86</sup> For example, *M. M. A. Bronzes* no. 56, p. 34 ill.; Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue no. 211, ill. p. 95.

sacred games, particularly at Olympia. The Athenians were apparently doing something entirely new when they erected statues at the public expense in honor of the Tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton. From this example the custom spread through the civilized world. Market places of all cities began to be decorated with the statues of men, and their honors were inscribed on the bases of the statues to be read by posterity and not left to their tombstones.

Pausanias' account of the statues in Greece agrees closely with this outline of Pliny's. The oldest statues set up in Greece in honor of men were the Olympic and other victor monuments of the archaic period.<sup>87</sup> The statues of the Tyrannicides at Athens<sup>88</sup> were the first to be set up for a political reason, but by Pausanias' own time every large city had statues of its most famous native sons or distinguished patrons.<sup>89</sup>

At Rome, according to Pliny (34.22.29), the first honorary statue erected by the state was that of Horatius Cocles who had, single-handed, held off the enemy from the Sublician Bridge. This battle, according to tradition, was fought in 508 B. C., when Porsenna tried to restore the Tarquins to Rome. They had been expelled the year before (509 B. C.), and in that same year, Pliny is careful to point out, the Athenians had set up that first pair of honorary statues, Antenor's group of the Tyrannicides (34.17). Though he does not expressly say so, he seems clearly to be implying that just as the Athenians insisted on considering Harmodius and Aristogeiton the first champions of democracy,<sup>90</sup> the Romans took Horatius as their symbol, and when the Athenians set up statues to their heroes, the new Roman state followed suit.

In Pliny's day, the statue of Horatius was still standing, a bronze warrior in full armor (34.22).<sup>91</sup> Such a figure is a common Etruscan votive type from the third quarter of the sixth century through the whole history of Etruscan sculpture.<sup>92</sup> The Etruscan type of the archaic period is based on a sixth century Greek votive type of striding warrior in armor; the finest Etruscan example is

<sup>87</sup> Pausanias, 6.18.7. Pausanias' oldest examples at Olympia are the statues of Praxidamus of Aegina and Rexibius the Opuntian, who were victors in the 59th and 61st festivals, 544 and 536 B. C., though Pausanias also mentions an earlier athlete who had a statue in his home town, Arrachion of Phigalia who won 3 Olympic victories, the last in 564 B. C. (8.40.1).

<sup>88</sup> Pausanias, 1.8.5.

<sup>89</sup> For example, at Athens (among others): Pausanias, 1.3.2, Hadrian; 1.8.2, Lycurgus, Callias and Demosthenes; 1.8.4, Pindar; 1.8.6, the Ptolemies; 1.18.8, Isocrates; 1.21.1, Menander, Sophocles, Euripides. This is exclusive of the statues, such as that of Pericles, on the Acropolis, which were all, Pausanias says (5.21.1), dedications to the goddess.

<sup>90</sup> Thucydides, 6.54.

<sup>91</sup> Livy, 2.18.12; Dionysius, 5.25.2 (εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἔνοπλον).

<sup>92</sup> Emeline Hill, "Etruscan Votive Bronze Warriors in the Walters Art Gallery," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* (1944/45) 105 ff.

the late archaic heroic terra cotta in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>93</sup> Surviving Etruscan examples in bronze from the sixth and early fifth centuries are all small and very pallid compared with the magnificent terra cotta, but they do indicate that the type was very well known in the late archaic period (fig. 13).<sup>94</sup>



Fig. 13. — Bronze warrior, early fifth century, Oberlin.

There is no difficulty in imagining an archaic bronze statue of a warrior at Rome, but there is a question whether such a statue could have been an honorary figure as early as the end of the sixth century. Pliny certainly believed that the statue was contemporary with the hero. In fact, except for such figures as those of Pythagoras and Alcibiadas, "the wisest and bravest of the Greeks," which were set up at the corners of the Comitium during the Samnite wars in obedience to an oracle of the Pythian Apollo (34.26), Pliny assumes that all honorary statues were the contemporaries of the men they honored.

Livy, telling the story of Horatius' defence of the bridge,<sup>95</sup> says that the Roman state, to show its gratitude, set up his statue in the Comitium and gave him as much land as he could plow around in one day. That is to say, according to this tradition, the statue was erected to Horatius in his own lifetime, which was the normal procedure in Greece and Rome in Livy's own time or Pliny's. But the first pair of honorary statues, the ones that, according to Pliny (34.17), set the precedent for all later examples, were not set up in the lifetime of the men honored. Harmodius and Aristogeiton had been put to death by Hippias after the assassination of Hipparchus,<sup>96</sup> and it was not till many years later, when Athens was rid of the Pisistratids, that she could honor the Tyrannicides with a pair of statues in the Agora. Apparently, the Athenians were giving them the honors of Heroes, half-divine protectors of the state.

If, as Livy and Pliny believed, Horatius survived his fight at the bridge and the Romans set up a statue to him in his lifetime, they actually anticipated Greek practice by about one hundred years (*vide infra* p. 101), which is unlikely, to say the least. But Polybius, who is our oldest authority for the story of Horatius,

<sup>93</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* ("Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers" 6, New York 1937) 7 ff., pls. I–XIV.

<sup>94</sup> Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; E. Hill, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 92) illustrates other examples.

<sup>95</sup> Livy, 2.10.

<sup>96</sup> Thucydides, 6.57.4.

says that he deliberately sacrificed his life.<sup>97</sup> If Polybius is right, the Romans were imitating the Athenians in honoring a dead hero.

In fact, honorary statues both in Greece and at Rome (always excepting the Greek victor monuments) were at first only awarded to the dead. The oldest Republican statues that Pliny mentions, except for that of Horatius, were a group representing five ambassadors who were murdered by the people of Fidenae in 438 B. C. (34.23),<sup>98</sup> and in Greece too, the "honorary" statues of the fifth century seem to have been commemorative.<sup>99</sup> Such figures were, in Greece, generally set up in the sanctuaries of the gods and were therefore, technically, votive offerings, as, for example, the statues of Cleobis and Biton which the Argives set up at Delphi after their death.<sup>100</sup> But such figures erected by the whole state to honor the memory of the dead are surely the germ of the later honorary statue to a living man. Thus at Delphi, in the fifth century, the offering of the Athenians made from the spoils of Marathon was a group of bronzes which included figures of the gods Athena and Apollo, the eponymous heroes of Athens and the general Miltiades,<sup>101</sup> who died in the year after Marathon. This is the first recorded example of a statue of a contemporary citizen included in a group of gods and heroes, and Miltiades was dead when the Athenians made the offering to Apollo. This group set a precedent. We do not know when the Plataeans put the "portrait" of their general Arimnestus at the feet of the statue of Athena Areia, but the group of statues dedicated by the Spartans at Delphi after the victory at Aegospotami<sup>102</sup> included, as well as figures of gods, the Spartan general Lysander, and this group was presumably set up while Lysander was still alive, since he lived till 395 B. C. According to Plutarch,<sup>103</sup> Lysander himself ordered his statue to be erected at Delphi (in which case, it would technically be a votive offering from the general to the god), but other states as well as Sparta set up statues to him in their sacred precincts. Pausanias tells this story about the Ionian cities in the Peloponnesian war:<sup>104</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Polybius, 6.55: κατὰ προαίρεσιν μετέλλαξε τὸν βίον.

<sup>98</sup> Livy, 4.17.2.

<sup>99</sup> Pausanias, 5.25.2-4. Pausanias saw at Olympia a bronze group of Messenian boys and their trainer who had been drowned crossing the Straits of Messina. The statues were the work of Callon of Elis (494-436 B. C.) and so cannot have been much earlier than the group of Roman ambassadors.

<sup>100</sup> Herodotus, 1. 31. M. Th. Homolle, *Ecole Française d'Athènes, Fouilles de Delphes* IV (1909) fasc. 1, pp. 5-18, pls. 1 and 2.

<sup>101</sup> Pausanias, 10.10.1.

<sup>102</sup> Pausanias, 10.9.7.

<sup>103</sup> Plutarch, *Lysander* 18.1-3.

<sup>104</sup> Pausanias, 6.3.15-16, trans. W. H. S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library.

When Alcibiades had a strong fleet of Athenian triremes along the coast of Ionia, most of the Ionians paid court to him, and there is a bronze statue of Alcibiades dedicated by the Samians in the temple of Hera. But when the Attic ships were captured at Aegospotami, the Samians set up a statue of Lysander at Olympia, and the Ephesians set up in the sanctuary of Artemis not only a statue of Lysander himself but also statues of Eteonicus, Pharax, and other Spartans quite unknown to the Greek world generally. But when fortune changed again, and Conon had won the naval action off Cnidus and the mountain called Dorium, the Ionians likewise changed their views, and there are to be seen statues in bronze of Conon and of Timotheus both in the sanctuary of Hera in Samos and also in the sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess at Ephesus.

The story makes it clear that these statues, though technically votive offerings, were actually honorary and political in intention. The late fifth century bronzes of Alcibiades and Lysander are, in fact, the oldest statues that we can be certain were erected by a state to honor living men, except for the victor monuments. During the fourth century the custom became more and more popular; Pliny says, for example, that there were 360 statues to Demetrius of Phalerum at Athens (34.27).

Except for the group of the murdered ambassadors, Pliny mentions only two honorary statues at Rome to men who lived in the fifth century, the column statue of L. Minucius, prefect of the corn supply in 439 B. C. (34.20), and the figure of Hermodorus of Ephesus who interpreted the laws of the Twelve Tables (450 B. C.; 34.21). I am inclined to doubt that either of these statues was actually of the fifth century; even 439 B. C. is a generation earlier than any known Greek honorary statue to a living man, and Minucius' column statue, which appears on coins, seems not to be a fifth century type; this will be discussed later.<sup>105</sup>

However, by the fourth century, honorary statues were common in Greece, and there is no difficulty, as far as the date goes, in believing that the Roman examples which Pliny puts in the fourth century were really of that period. They are the figures of L. Furius Camillus and C. Maenius who defeated the Prisci

<sup>105</sup> Although it is possible that the laws of the Twelve Tables were partly based on Greek prototypes, and not impossible that Hermodorus had some share in drawing them up (S. P. Scott, *The Civil Law*, Cincinnati 1932, II, *The Enactments of Justinian, the Digests or Pandects* 1.2.4. 212 f., and n. 1. John Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, London 1930, 131, n. 1), and although a mid-fifth century statue of a Greek philosopher is not inconceivable, since we have, for instance, Roman copies of a 5th century statue of the poet Anacreon (v. Anton Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, London 1912, 6), the date seems too early for an honorary statue. The statues of Pericles and Xanthippus on the Acropolis of Athens (Pausanias, 1.25.1) would have been votive, and literary evidence suggests that whatever the original was, from which the herm of Themistocles in Ostia was copied (G. Calza, "Il Ritratto di Temistocle scoperto ad Ostia," *Le Arti*, 1940, 152 ff.), it was not a contemporary honorary statue. (G. Becatti, "Il problema del Temistocle," *La Critica d'Arte*, 1942, 76 ff., pls. XXIX-XXX). Pausanias (1.8.4.) saw a statue of Pindar at Athens near the sanctuary of Ares, but there is no evidence that it was erected in Pindar's lifetime; Isocrates does not mention it when he lists the honors Athens paid Pindar (*Antidosis*, 166).

Latini in 338 B. C. (34.20.23),<sup>106</sup> and Q. Marcius Tremulus who twice defeated the Samnites in 306 B. C. (34.23).<sup>107</sup> The type of these statues is odd—a horse-man in a toga—and will be examined later.

The later honorary statues that Pliny mentions are: the third century column statue of C. Duillius (260 B. C.; 34.20), the group of ambassadors killed by Queen Teuta of Illyricum in 230 B. C. (34.24), the statue of Gaius Octavius, who, Pliny says, was also killed on his embassy (162 B. C.; 34.24), possibly the statue of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (34.31), and a great number of statues to Marius Gratidianus,\* praetor in 86 B. C. (34.37).

There were also honorary statues of a different kind, those given to a Roman citizen by a foreign state. Thus the people of Thurii set one up at Rome to C. Aelius, tribune of the plebs in 285 B. C. (34.32).

Pliny does not describe any of these later statues except that of Cornelia, which was seated and wore slippers. It must have looked like some Hellenistic grave monuments, and was perhaps the ancestress at Rome of the seated portrait statues of Imperial ladies.<sup>108</sup>

To determine whether the earlier honorary statues at Rome could really have been as old as the dates Pliny gives for them, we must next consider their types, which, according to Pliny, are as follows:

1. Figures wearing the toga (34.18; *togatae effigies antiquitus ita dicabantur*). To Pliny, this is the most ancient type. The examples that he mentions are the statues of Romulus and Tatius on the Capitoline, a figure of Cloelia on horseback, and the fourth century figures of Camillus and Q. Marcius Tremulus (34.22, 23, 28).

2. Nude figures holding a spear (34.18; *placueret et nudae tenentes hastam ab epheborum e gymnasiis exemplaribus; quas Achilles vocant*). This, as Pliny says, is adapted from a type of Greek athlete statue; it appears in Greece about the middle of the fifth century. A white-ground lecythos in Boston (Fig. 14)<sup>109</sup>



Fig. 14. - White ground lecythos, Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

<sup>106</sup> Livy, 8.13.9.

<sup>107</sup> Livy, 9.43.22. Cicero, *Phil.* 6.5.13.

<sup>108</sup> Jex-Blake and Sellers, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38) 26, note on Pliny 34.31.4.

<sup>109</sup> Boston Museum of Fine Arts 01.80.80.

shows two such figures standing like acroteria on the corners of the gable roof of a tomb. The same type was used for decorative bronzes in Etruria by the fourth century (Figs. 15 and 16),<sup>110</sup> but not even in Greece was it used for honorary statues



Fig. 15. – Candlestick top, fourth century, Berlin Museum.



Fig. 16. – Nude youth, third century, Dresden Antiquarium.

till Hellenistic times. The "Hellenistic Prince" in the Terme, a heroic bronze of the first century B. C., is the best example of the type used as an honorary statue.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Berlin, No. 2175, top of a candlestick. Dresden 9682.

<sup>111</sup> Rome, Terme Museum; Helbig, *Führer* II, 133, no. 1347; Hekler, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 105) pl. 82; Rhys Carpenter, "The 'Hellenistic Ruler' of the Terme Museum," *AJA*, 31 (1927) 160 ff.; idem, "Familiar Statuary in Rome, the 'Hellenistic Ruler' of the Terme," *MAAR* 18 (1941) 81 ff.; idem, "The Identity of the Ruler," *AJA* 49 (1945) 353 ff.; Phyllis Williams, "Amykos and the Dioscuri," *AJA* 49 (1945) 330 ff. I cannot agree with Miss Williams that this statue is merely one of the Dioscuri; nor, in fact, does it seem to me to have been intended as one of a group of figures. The analogy with the scene on the Etruscan mirror, fig. 12 of her article in the *AJA*, is very appealing, but when the figures are seen as a free-standing group, they seem to me to be too little interconnected.

The Romans seem to have got the idea of this particular honorary type from Delos.<sup>112</sup>

3. The man in armor (34. 18; *Graeca res nihil velare, at contra Romana ac militaris thoraces addere*). According to Pliny, this was the normal Roman type corresponding to the Greek nude, and it is true that statues of an armed warrior are much commoner in Italy in the classic and Hellenistic periods than they are in Greece. The distinction that Pliny makes between the Greek taste for nudes and the Roman preference for clothed figures is certainly true for Greece and Etruria, and in this instance, as in the case of the figures pouring libations (v. *supra* 94), the Romans seem to have inherited the Etruscan prejudice. The Classic and Hellenistic warriors of Etruria even stand in the same attitude as the Greek nudes leaning on their spears and are, in fact, an Etruscan transformation of the Greek ephebos type (Figs. 17-19).<sup>113</sup> The one example that Pliny gives of an honorary statue in armor is the figure of Caesar that stood in his own forum (34.18). Possibly this was the first time the type was used for an honorary statue; the Etruscan examples are votive.

4. Roman nudes (34.18; *nam Lupercorum habitu tam noviciae sunt quam quae nuper prodire paenulis indutae*). The costume of the Luperci was nothing but a kilt made from the skin of the sacrificial goat;<sup>114</sup> the Romans apparently considered such a figure indecent, perhaps because of their objection to nudity, perhaps because of the primitive and orgiastic nature of the Lupercalia. Certainly Cicero made capital of the way Mark Antony behaved himself as a Lupercus (*nudus, unctus, ebrius*).<sup>115</sup> However, bronze figures of men wearing skin kilts, apparently variants of the Etruscan type of Hercules, are found in Etruria as early as the end of the sixth century.<sup>116</sup> A *paenula* is a heavy semicircular cloak with a pointed hood for wet weather; it fastened in front with a brooch.<sup>117</sup> Figures in short cloaks are also found in Etruscan art of the transitional and classic

<sup>112</sup> C. Michelowsky, *Les portraits hellénistiques et romains* ("Explorations archéologiques de Délos faites par l'Ecole Française d'Athènes" XIII, Paris 1932) 17 ff., pls. XIV-XIX, colossal statue of a man from the house of the Diadoumenos; 21, fig. 13, statue of Ofellius; A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture* (London 1927) 33. Lawrence, in fact, attributes several other honorary Roman types to Delos and its school.

<sup>113</sup> Mars of Todi, Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano; Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) pls. CCL, CCLI. Berlin Fr. 2197, 2198; Hill, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 92) 120.

<sup>114</sup> Dionysius, 1.80.1; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.267; 5.101; Sir James Frazer, Appendix to Ovid's *Fasti*, Loeb Classical Library, 390.

<sup>115</sup> Cicero, *Philippic* 2.85, 86; *Philippic* 3.12.

<sup>116</sup> Bayet, *Hercle* pl. III, Hercules on a 5th century mirror. *M.M.A. Bronzes* no. 62, Herakles. E. Galli, "Hereklu," *StEtr* 15 (1941) 17 ff., pls. III-VI, Hercules found at Pantiere di Castellbellino in Ancona and other examples.

<sup>117</sup> Lillian M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* ("The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology," No. 24, Baltimore 1938) 87 ff.

periods, though they are not common.<sup>118</sup> Since votive bronzes in skin kilts and short cloaks are both relatively old in Italy, Pliny must mean that honorary statues of these types are late.

The one nude statue at Rome that Pliny mentions specifically was a votive offering, a portrait of C. Hostilius Mancinus set up by himself (137 B.C.; 34. 18).<sup>119</sup>



Fig. 17. - Mars of Todi, Rome, Vatican. Museo Gregoriano.



Figs. 18 and 19. - Bronze Warriors, Berlin museum.  
Fr. 2107, 2108.

5. Equestrian statues (34.19: *equestres ubique statuae Romanam celebrationem habent, orta sine dubio a Graecis exemplo*). This type was also borrowed from Greece, from victor monuments, according to Pliny. It had, however, been used for centuries at Rome: there had even been a statue of a woman on horse-

<sup>118</sup> For example, a boy putting on a cloak, Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 435, J. Babinet, *Classe des bronzes de la collection Caplat, données au roi en 1792* (Paris et Bruxelles 1801) pl. 10, 14. Youth from Civita Castellana, British Museum, *Walters Catalogue* no. 680, pl. XVI.

<sup>119</sup> *Mancinus in habitu ubi statuit prius habitus fuerat* i. e., *nudus* in just before his capture, according to Valerius Maximus 2.1.31; see Sellers, *op. cit.* (supra), n. 38; note on Pliny 34.18 (p. 106). *Paris, op. cit.* (supra), n. 41, 51.

back. Cloelia, one of the hostages sent by the Roman nobles to Porsenna (34.28). The statue of Q. Marcius Tremulus in front of the temple of Castor was an *equestris togata* (34.23), and we know from Livy<sup>120</sup> that the statues of Camillus and Maenius were equestrian too.

6. Chariot groups were also Greek in origin (34.19; *unde et nostri currus nati in iis qui triumphavissent*). They were used at Rome for statues of men who had received triumphs. This was a recent custom at Rome (*serum hoc*) and among the chariot groups those drawn by six horses or by elephants were not earlier than the time of Augustus.

7. Column statues (34.20; *antiquior columnarum*). An older way of honoring a man was to set up his statue on a column.

8. Arches (34.27). The purpose of the arch, a recent invention, like the purpose of the column, Pliny says, was to raise the statue above other mortals.

Statues on columns appear in the archaic period in Greece; the Naxian sphinx at Delphi may be the oldest. The Victory of Paeonius at Olympia was another famous column figure, but the oldest statue that we have of a human being on a column is the bronze from Paestum, dedicated by Phillo to Athena, a figure of a girl who once held a basket or some other object on her head and who stands on an Ionic capital. It is a bronze of the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>121</sup>

Pausanias mentions a statue of Isocrates (436-338 B. C.) on a column near the Olympieum at Athens; <sup>122</sup> this is the first record in Greece of an honorary column statue, and we cannot be sure whether the statue was erected to Isocrates in his lifetime or later. The custom of using columns for honorary statues became popular in the Hellenistic period; <sup>123</sup> the figures on top must have looked something like the small bronze of the philosopher Hermarchus in the Metropolitan Museum, or like the boxer in the Walters Gallery.<sup>124</sup>

Pliny lists three Republican column statues: one of C. Maenius (34.20) <sup>125</sup> who defeated the Prisci Latini in 338 B. C. (so that his statue and that of Isocrates at Athens could have been contemporary); the column of C. Duillius who

<sup>120</sup> Livy, 8.13.9.

<sup>121</sup> Berlin 7429. Winifred Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London 1927) 143, pl. 51 b. Gerda Bruns, *Antike Bronzen* (Berlin 1947) 35, fig. 22. Another column statue of the early fifth century is a terra cotta figure of a tumbler on a Doric column in Tarentum. It was found in a tomb in the contrada "Vicarella," January 24, 1943 (unpublished), and neither subject nor provenience suggests that it was an honorary statue. It seems more nearly related to Etruscan figures on kottabos stands.

<sup>122</sup> Pausanias, 1.18.8.

<sup>123</sup> Vessberg, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) 19.

<sup>124</sup> Richter, *M. M. A. Bronzes* no. 120. D. K. Hill, *Walters Art Gallery* 146, pl. 31 and frontispiece.

<sup>125</sup> Livy, 8.13.

received the first naval triumph for his victory over the Carthaginians in 260 B. C. (34.20);<sup>126</sup> and the column of L. Minucius, prefect of the corn supply in 439 B. C. (34.20).

This last column is reproduced on a late second century denarius, struck by C. Minucius Augurinus, a descendant of L. Minucius,<sup>127</sup> and is altogether a peculiar object. The statue, a figure of a man wrapped tightly in a cloak, one end of which hangs free over the left shoulder, stands, with a tall knobby staff in the right hand, on a platform which forms the abacus of an Aeolic capital. The column itself has a strong diminution, and the shaft is apparently decorated with a series of horizontal mouldings. From the corners of the abacus hang two objects which look like bells; Babelon<sup>128</sup> calls them "les clochettes (qui) servaient à annoncer l'ouverture et la fermeture du marché." Maybe so, but they also look rather like the loops that hang from the capital of the bronze column statue in the Metropolitan, which was a lamp stand. As a matter of fact, the attitude and costume of the statue on the coin is very like that of the Hellenistic philosopher on the lamp. The strong diminution of the shaft of the column on the coin makes it look like some archaic Etruscan columns, for example, one from Orvieto,<sup>129</sup> but the capital is far less like archaic Aeolic capitals than like certain Etruscan examples of the fourth century and later. The pilasters on a stone urn in the shape of a house, from Chiusi, have the same springing volutes, and so have those in the Caeretan Tomba dei Rilievi.<sup>130</sup> Altogether, the evidence suggests that the column statue of L. Minucius was not put up in the fifth century: 439 B. C. seems to be too early even for an honorary statue, and very much too early for a column statue in honor of a living man, while both the statue type and the capital of the column seem to belong in the Hellenistic period.

9. Statues of women (34.31; *statuae mulieribus*). This is the last type on Pliny's list. Such figures were a shocking innovation in Cato's day, but one

<sup>126</sup> Part of the inscription from the base (imperial restoration) in the Museo dei Conservatori, Rome; reconstruction of the column, *Mostra Augustea della Romanità, Catalogo*, ed. 4 (Rome 1937) I, 52, no. 22, pl. XI.

<sup>127</sup> H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London 1910), I, no. 953, pl. XXVI, 15: Rev. C. AVG (above in field) divided by Ionic column, surmounted by a figure holding sceptre and ears of corn; the shaft is formed of torus-shaped blocks; to the capital is attached on either side a bell (*tintinnabulum*); at the base of the column are two lions' heads, each surmounted by an ear of corn; on the right of the column stands a togate figure, M. Minucius Faesus, holding a *lituus* in his right hand; and on the left another figure also togate, L. Minucius Augurinus, or P. Minucius Augurinus, holding a dish and a loaf, his foot resting on a measure (*modius*).

<sup>128</sup> E. Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine, vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires* (Paris and London 1886) II, 228.

<sup>129</sup> Ducati, *Storia* I, 93; II, pl. 25, fig. 85.

<sup>130</sup> Ducati, *Storia* I, 382, 394; II, pl. 168, fig. 426, pl. 176, figs. 450, 451.

that was destined to spread to Rome from the provinces. There were, of course, earlier statues of women at Rome, but these were votive offerings; the figure of Cloelia on horseback, set up by her fellow hostages, the three figures of the Sibyl set up by the first Tarquin, and perhaps a statue of a vestal virgin, Taracia Gaia or Fufetia, though the record is confused (34.25).<sup>131</sup>

All of the types on Pliny's list, with the possible exception of No. 4, "Roman Nudes," were used at Rome under the Empire for honorary statues. There are in existence statues of Augustus in the toga and in armor, and coins of his reign show statues of the emperor nude, holding a spear and standing on a column, or as a horseman, or on a triumphal arch riding in a quadriga, or in a biga drawn by elephants.<sup>132</sup> The later emperors are also represented by these types.<sup>133</sup>

The types that Pliny listed were, in fact, not relics, obsolete in his own day and of merely antiquarian interest, but the characteristic forms still used for honorary statues. A few of them Pliny believed to have had very long pedigrees, dating even from the time of the Etruscan kings, in particular, the toga statue (34.18 and 23).

<sup>131</sup> Jex-Blake and Sellers, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38) 21 ff., note on 34.25.18; Ferri, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9) 60, note on 34.25.

<sup>132</sup> Statues of Augustus: Togate, Hekler, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 105) pls. 164, 165, 172; in armor, Hekler, pl. 170; nude holding a spear, on a column, Grueber, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 127), no. 4349, pl. lix, 18, Obv.: head of Octavius r., laureate, Reverse: IMP CAESAR (across the field) rostral column ornamented at sides w. prows of ships, and in front w. two anchors, and surmounted by a statue of Octavius resting with r. hand on spear and holding *parazonium* in l.; horseman, Grueber no. 4474, pl. lxiv, 7, Obv.: Equestrian statue of Augustus r., before the walls of a city, the gateway of which is shown; the pedestal of the statue is inscribed in 3 lines S·P·Q·R·, IMP·CAES· Rev.: a cippus with inscription and the moneyer's name; chariot and arch, Grueber no. 4348, pl. lix, 17, Obv.: Head of Octavius, r., bare. Rev.: Triumphal arch, surmounted by quadriga facing, in the car of which stands Octavius; the frieze of the arch is inscribed IMP·CAESAR; elephants, Grueber no. 4462, pl. lxiii, 18: Obv.: Head of Augustus r., bare; around, S·P·Q·R· IMP·CAESARI· Rev.: QVOD VIAE MVN·SVNT· around triumphal arch of 2 portals placed on a viaduct of small arches; the arch is surmounted by a biga of elephants to r. in which stands Augustus crowned by Victory.

<sup>133</sup> Toga: Hekler, *op. cit.*, no. 219 a., Titus, Rome, Vatican, Braccio Nuovo no. 26: Nude: Hekler, no. 246 B, Hadrian as Mars, Museum of Capitoline, Salone, no. 13; Septimius Severus, Cyprus Museum, P. Dikaïos, "The Bronze Statue of Septimius Severus in the Cyprus Museum", *Archaeology* 1 (1948) 146 ff.; Trebonianus Gallus, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bronzes* no. 350. Armor: Hekler no. 184 a, C. Caesar, Naples, National Museum, no. 6046; Hekler no. 246 a, Hadrian, Olympia Museum. Horseman: Hekler no. 266. Marcus Aurelius, Rome, Piazza of the Capitoline. The horses of St. Mark's are the team from an imperial quadriga; the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the arches of Titus, Septimius Severus and Constantine at Rome show the continuity of this tradition. As for statues of women, the ladies of the Imperial families have left innumerable portraits, for example: Hekler p. 207 a and b, Octavia, Paris, Louvre; no. 209, Livia, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Seated statues of women: Rome, Museo Capitolino, seated statue of "Agrippina;" Naples, Museo Nazionale, seated statue of "Agrippina."

## THE TOGA STATUE.

This type is, to Pliny, even older than the custom of erecting honorary statues, which itself dated from 509 B. C. Two, at least, of the statues of the kings of Rome which stood on the Capitoline wore the toga without the tunic, and these statues Pliny believed to have been set up by the kings themselves (34.23 and 29).



Fig. 20. — Togata effigies, Roman, Augustan period, Walters Art Gallery.

This would mean that they were votive statues, dedicated by the kings in the *templum* of the chief god of Rome, and there is nothing intrinsically impossible about such statues at such a period in such a place. The approach to the shrine of Apollo at Miletus was lined with archaic statues, one of which, at least, was the "portrait" of a prince.<sup>134</sup>

But could an archaic statue be wearing a toga? In addition to the figures of Romulus and Tatius, Pliny mentions three other toga statues: the figure of Cloelia on horseback (34.28), which he believed to be a contemporary of the statue of Horatius, that is, of the end of the sixth century; and the fourth century equestrian statues of Camillus and Tremulus (34.23).

The toga of Pliny's day was voluminous and complicated and could not be mistaken for any other kind of costume (fig. 20).<sup>135</sup> Its shape was a swollen semicircle or a blunted trapezoid.<sup>136</sup> It was the badge of Roman citizenship; foreigners were not allowed to wear it, while a Roman magistrate was behaving improperly if he left it off.<sup>137</sup> Its cut and arrangement were matters for serious consideration by serious men.<sup>138</sup> Quintilian gives directions for wearing

<sup>134</sup> F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*. Vol. I, part I: *Prehellenic and Early Greek* (London 1928) 103; the seated figures, B 271-280, plates VI-XV. No. B 278, Chares, prince of Teichioussa, pl. XIII.

<sup>135</sup> Walters Art Gallery, 54.2329.

<sup>136</sup> Wilson, *The Roman Toga*, Chap. 3, "The Imperial Toga," especially fig. 27 a, p. 64.

<sup>137</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem* II. 5.86; Livy, 29.19.11; Suetonius, *Claudius* 15; Nonius, p. 653 L.

<sup>138</sup> Macrobius, 3.13.4-5 tells this story about Hortensius the orator, the rival of Cicero: he took such pains with his toga that he even used a mirror to arrange it and once sued an acquaintance of his who bumped into him in a narrow alley on the way to the Forum and disarranged the folds on his left shoulder.

it: <sup>139</sup> the garment should be rounded and cut to fit; the *sinus* is most becoming if it falls a little above the lower edge of the tunic; the other fold which passes obliquely like a sword belt under the right shoulder should be neither too tight nor too loose. The left arm should be raised only far enough to form a right angle at the elbow, and the edge of the toga should fall in even lengths on either side. Quintilian's *sinus* is explained by Miss Wilson as the curve formed by the loose drapery of the upper edge of the toga – on the bronze (Fig. 20) it reaches just to the knee –; the “other fold” is the rolled section which more or less holds the toga in place.<sup>140</sup>

Nobody could have ridden horseback in such a garment; the proper riding costume can be seen on the statue of the senator Nonius Balbus from Herculaneum.<sup>141</sup> He wears a short rectangular cloak that will not get in his way.

A toga, to be worn on horseback, must have been far smaller than the garment of Pliny's day. And there is evidence, both literary and archaeological, that the toga had once been, in fact, much less voluminous. Quintilian knew that the manner of draping the toga had changed: the ancients wore it with no *sinus* and their successors wore the *sinus* very short.<sup>142</sup> The *sinus* of the togas on the Ara Pacis is about as short as such a fold could be,<sup>143</sup> and there is a small bronze in Princeton representing a young boy of the last century of the Republic who wears a toga with no *sinus* at all (Figs. 21 and 22).<sup>144</sup>



Figs. 21 and 22. – Republican toga statue, Princeton.

<sup>139</sup> Quintilian, 11.3.137 ff.

<sup>140</sup> Wilson, *The Roman Toga* 44.

<sup>141</sup> Naples, Museo Nazionale. Hekler, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 105), pl. 153.

<sup>142</sup> Quintilian, 11.3.137.

<sup>143</sup> Wilson, *The Roman Toga* 44, figs. 17 a–17 d. Giuseppe Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome 1948) II, pls. XI, XII.

<sup>144</sup> G. M. A. Hanfmann, “An Etruscan Bronze,” *Record of the Museum of Historic Art, Princeton University*, II, 1 (1943) 4 ff.

The Ara Pacis toga is much less enveloping than the Imperial, and this Republican toga is still shorter and narrower.

The particular fashion of wearing the toga over the right shoulder and confining the right arm, illustrated by the bronze in Princeton, was popular at Rome during the first three quarters of the first century B. C. The mannerism was taken from Greece, where it was a fashionable way to wear the himation from the fourth century on.<sup>145</sup> Apparently, it was the way that Cicero wore the toga in his youth.<sup>146</sup>



Fig. 23. — The Orator, late second century, Florence, Phot. Brogi.

There is no earlier literary reference as to how the toga was worn. Its characteristic shape, with the deeply curved, almost semicircular lower border, is mentioned by late writers, such as Isidore,<sup>147</sup> and foreigners, such as Dionysius,<sup>148</sup> and is implied in the stories of the Romans in Asia who hastily put on rectangular Greek *himationia* instead of their native costume when Mithridates ordered all *togati* to be put to death.<sup>149</sup>

The Romans themselves believed that the toga was originally an Etruscan garment; Livy<sup>150</sup> says that the *toga praetexta* and the *sella curulis*, insignia of royalty, were borrowed by the Romans from their Etruscan neighbors. However, as Miss Wilson believes,<sup>151</sup> it may have been only the *praetexta*, the purple border itself, the sign of royalty, which the Romans borrowed, not necessarily the shape of the toga.

At least one of the early fifth century bronze Jupiters (Fig. 2) wears a rectangular "toga," and Etruscan figures of the Classical and Hellenistic periods often wear a rectangular cloak like the Greek himation.

<sup>145</sup> Hanfmann, *op. cit.* 7-8.

<sup>146</sup> Cicero *Pro Caelio* 5.11: *nobis quidem olim annus erat unus ad cohibendum brachium toga constitutus*. Quintilian (11.3.138) talks about its effect on oratory, "in view of the fact that their arms were, like those of the Greeks, covered by a garment, they must have employed a different type of gesture from that which is now in use."

<sup>147</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive Originum*, *De Palliis Virorum* 19.24.3.

<sup>148</sup> Dionysius, 3.61.1.

<sup>149</sup> Cicero *Pro C. Rabirio Postumo* 10.17. Athenaeus, 5.213.

<sup>150</sup> Livy, 1.8.3.

<sup>151</sup> Wilson, *The Roman Toga* 19.

But to a Roman of Pliny's time the toga was a garment with a deeply-curved lower edge. If Pliny accepted the equestrian statues of Tremulus and Camillus as *togatae effigies*, to say nothing of the ancient statues of the kings on the Capitoline, they must all have worn some kind of cloak with a curved edge.

Such a garment can be traced back through Etruscan art for quite a distance. There is, first, the Orator (fig. 23), a life-size bronze of the end of the second century B. C. inscribed with the Etruscan name Avle Metelle.<sup>152</sup> This figure wears a toga shorter and narrower than any Roman example. One end is brought forward over the left shoulder, the rest drawn under the right



Fig. 24. - Sarcophagus from Vulci, third century B. C., Boston.

arm and thrown back over the left shoulder again. A double layer of material covers the left arm as in the Imperial Roman toga (Fig. 20); otherwise the Etruscan toga is worn much more simply.

A third-century sarcophagus from Vulci (Fig. 24)<sup>153</sup> shows a "marriage scene" on the front panel. The husband wears the Greek himation, but his attendants wear a cloak with a curved border; it is arranged in the same way as the master's, one end brought forward over the left shoulder, the other carried across the front and slung over the left arm, but the free hem hangs

<sup>152</sup> Florence, Milani, *op. cit. (supra, n. 67)*, I 136; II pl. XXVII; Giglioli, *op. cit. (supra, n. 37)* pls. CCCLXIX, CCCLXX; A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture* (London 1929) 314; Fr. Poulsen, "Probleme der römischen Ikonographie," *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Archaeologisk-Kunsthistoriske Meddelelser* 2, 1 (1937) 15; Hanfmann, *op. cit. (supra, n. 144)* 7.

<sup>153</sup> Boston Museum of Fine Arts, lent by the Athenaeum. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Etruscan Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period," *JHS* 65 (1945; published 1947) 47, pl. VIII.

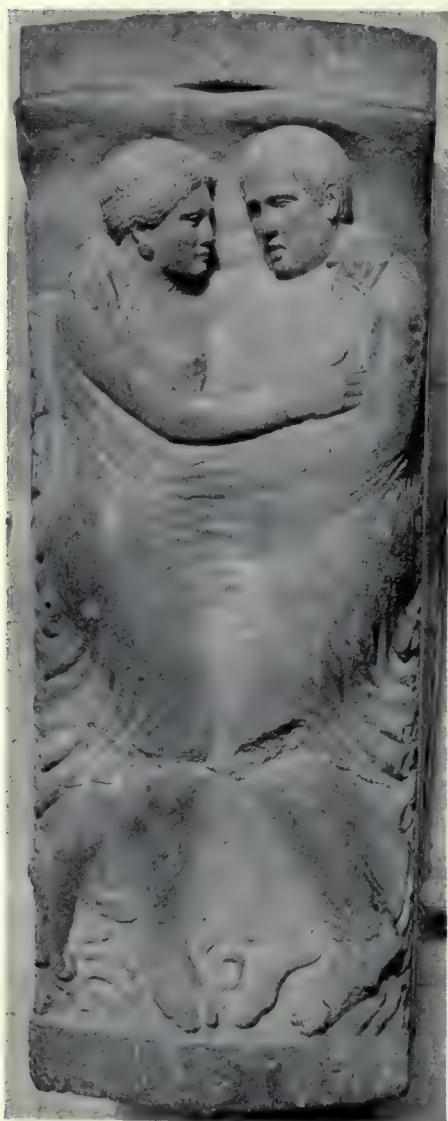


Fig. 25. — Sarcophagus from Vulci, third century. B. C., Boston.

entirely differently. This cloak of the attendants is very like that worn by the Orator. Here is an illustration of a *toga sine tunica*.

The top of the sarcophagus (Fig. 25) shows the husband and wife lying together on a couch, covered by a cloak which seems to have a curved edge. Perhaps this may be taken as an illustration of Varro's statement<sup>154</sup> that the toga was used for a blanket in ancient times and Arnobius'<sup>155</sup> that the husband threw his toga over the marriage couch.

There are several small bronzes which represent a young man wearing a semicircular cloak like that of the attendants on the sarcophagus, standing with the hands spread out in a gesture of prayer, or with a libation bowl in one hand. Two of these were found with three other votive bronzes at Castiglione del Lago (Figs. 26 and 27).<sup>156</sup> In addition to the short *toga sine tunica*, they wear high shoes, which make them look vaguely like the Orator. A similar figure in the Louvre (Fig. 28)<sup>157</sup> also wears the toga, and his elaborate shoes are particularly noticeable. Riis puts these figures "with the funeral sculpture (of Chiusi) of the advanced classical period." To me they seem to exhibit late Classical style of the Etruscan early third century, like the Boston sarcophagus.

In Catania there is a fine bronze of the early fourth century (Figs. 29-32),<sup>158</sup> a young worshipper of the same type. He stands barefooted, with both hands making a gesture

<sup>154</sup> Varro, *de Vita Populi Romani* 1, quoted in Nonius Marcellus, pp. 867-8.

<sup>155</sup> Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* 2.62.

<sup>156</sup> Castiglione del Lago, in a private collection; Riis, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 51) 124.

<sup>157</sup> Louvre, A. de Ridder, *Les Bronzes Antiques du Louvre* (Paris 1913) no. 293, pl. 26; Riis, *op. cit.*, pl. 21, 2.

<sup>158</sup> Catania 3727, ht. 0.185; G. Libertini, *Il Castello Ursino e le Raccolte Artistiche Comunali di Catania* (Catania 1937) 90, no. 3728 (*sic*) pl. VIII.

of prayer. His semicircular cloak is worn like those of the little bronze worshippers, but it is longer and more voluminous, bigger even than that of the Orator.

There is a bronze horseman in Detroit (Fig. 33)<sup>159</sup> of the late fifth century, which, if in one respect he represents the Parthenon Style in Etruria,<sup>160</sup> in an-



Figs. 26 and 27. — Etruscan togatus, third century, private collection; Vatican negative XV.2.25, XV.2.26.

other shows us what an *effigies equestris togata* looked like. His cloak is worn over the left shoulder and slung around the body under the right arm and over the left forearm, as the togas of the third and fourth century votive bronzes were,

<sup>159</sup> F. W. Robinson, *An Exhibition of Small Bronzes of the Ancient World, The Detroit Institute of Arts. March 23rd through April 20th, 1947*, no. 41.

<sup>160</sup> Compare the way the Etruscan bronze sits his horse with the riders of the Parthenon frieze, and his head, particularly with the bearded head on the west frieze, Hege and Rodenwaldt, *Die Akropolis* (Berlin 1930) pl. 41; the short hair, the length of the beard, the cut of the moustache, the short straight nose and low forehead, the high cheekbones are all very like. Miss Robinson also compares this bronze with the Parthenon frieze.

and the border of the cloak is unmistakably curved. The figure is too early by nearly a century for the equestrian statues of Camillus and Tremulus in the Forum, but it does represent a horseman wearing a *toga sine tunica* (as Camillus did),



Fig. 28. – Etruscan togatus, Louvre 293.

and since the type was used (as this example shows) for votive bronzes in the fifth century, it was on hand to be adopted for honorary statues in the fourth.

Figures in semicircular cloaks appear still earlier: a bronze boy in Cleveland, of the first half of the fifth century, has a cloak rather like the Orator's (Fig. 34).<sup>161</sup> It is much smaller, but worn in the same way; the ends of the semicircle just meet on the left shoulder and the left arm is bare. This bronze is one of a type quite common in Etruria at the very end of the archaic period (Figs. 35–38).<sup>162</sup> The attitude, left hand on hip, right stretched forward, looks like a handshake, especially when it is associated with the archaic smile, but is probably an attitude of prayer. In Greece the pose is uncommon; it occurs in Geometric bronzes (Fig. 39)<sup>163</sup> and again, in many variations among the naturalistic attitudes of the classical period.<sup>164</sup> But these Etruscan bronzes belong stylistically to the period of the Strangford Apollo and the Apollo of Piombino, that is, to Miss Richter's Ptoon 20 Group (515–485 B. C.);<sup>165</sup> they have not yet broken the law of frontality nor lost the charming archaic smile. And this particular pose is not part of

<sup>161</sup> Cleveland, no. 291441, found in South Italy.

<sup>162</sup> Naples 5534, ht. 26.2 cm., found on Elba, Ruesch, *Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, (Naples 1908) 357, no. 1512, Giglioli, *StEtr* 2 (1928) 49–54, pl. 4, 1–4, Giglioli, *op. cit. (supra)*, n. 37) pl. LXXIII, figs. 1–3; Florence 72725, "Vertumnus" from Isola di Fano, ht. 28 cm., *NS* (1884) pl. III, Milani, *op. cit. (supra)*, n. 67) I, 138, II, pl. 28, 29 no. 2; Cassel no. 120, ht. 11 cm., M. Bieber, *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des königl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel* (Marburg 1915) 53, pl. xxxviii, Giglioli, *StEtr* 2, 52, pl. 4, no. 5; British Museum, *Walters Catalogue* no. 509, pl. xvi, ht. 17 cm., from Pizzirimonte near Prato.

<sup>163</sup> One in the Brooklyn Museum, no. 35.746, ht. 7.9 cm., from Southern Crete.

<sup>164</sup> For instance, Oenomaos from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus, Olympia. W. Hege and G. Rodenwaldt, *Olympia* (London 1936) pl. 27.

<sup>165</sup> Strangford Apollo, London, British Museum No. B. 475; Apollo of Piombino, Paris, Louvre; G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi* (New York 1942) 213 ff., pls. CIV–CXXIX.

the repertory of Greek sculpture in the late archaic period. Nor is the cloak at all Greek; the Greek himation was much larger and rectangular;<sup>166</sup> the Greek chlamys, which was about the same size as the Etruscan cloak, was also



Figs. 29-31. — Etruscan togatus, early fourth century, Catania.

rectangular in the late sixth and fifth centuries (though not in the Hellenistic period)<sup>167</sup> and was usually worn around both shoulders and fastened with a brooch.

The Etruscan semicircular cloak is also worn by several late archaic bronze figures of women from Etruria (Fig. 40)<sup>168</sup> and by a terra cotta found at Rome.<sup>169</sup> The cloak passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm, quite unlike the slanted himation of the archaic Greek korai; the front corner hangs down

<sup>166</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bronzes*, no. 77.

<sup>167</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bronzes*, no. 60; M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin 1928) 67; *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht* (Berlin 1934) 30, 35, 40, "chlamys."

<sup>168</sup> Rome, Private collection, Photo. neg. 7674, Deutsch. Arch. Inst. See also Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 1477, candelabrum; Rome, Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) pl. CXXI, 3 and 4.

<sup>169</sup> Terra cotta, Rome, *NS* (1899) 154 ff., fig. 10, 3, p. 161.

below the curve of the border and shows clearly that the shawl had one straight and one curved edge. Varro and Servius both say that women originally wore the toga as well as men,<sup>170</sup> and these figures are doing so.

This may help to explain the one statue of a woman in a toga that Pliny mentions, Cloelia on horseback (34.28). The date of this figure—it is supposed to



Fig. 32. - Etruscan togatus, early fourth century, Catania.



Fig. 33. - Etruscan horseman wearing a toga, late fifth century, Detroit.



Fig. 34. - Etruscan togatus, early fifth century, Cleveland.

have been set up by her fellow hostages after the war with Porsenna (508 B. C.) – corresponds admirably with the date of the bronze and terra cotta women in togas. To be sure, none of these is on horseback, but figures of women on horseback are not entirely unknown in the archaic period. Leaving out Amazons – and there are fine late archaic bronze Amazons from Capua<sup>171</sup> – there is a terra

<sup>170</sup> Varro in Nonius, p. 867 L. Servius, on Virgil, *Aeneid* 1. 28.

<sup>171</sup> Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, no. 54.141, from the lid of a Capuan lebes. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Inv. 1923, 57; E. von Mercklin, *AA* (1928) 432, no. 120, fig 146.

cotta from Perachora which represents a woman riding sideways on a horse; it is dated by Payne in the mid-sixth century.<sup>172</sup>

Earlier than the end of the sixth century there seem to be no Etruscan statues wearing the semicircular cloak, though it is worn by men on the painted terra cotta panels from Caere of about 525 B. C.<sup>173</sup> But in the late archaic

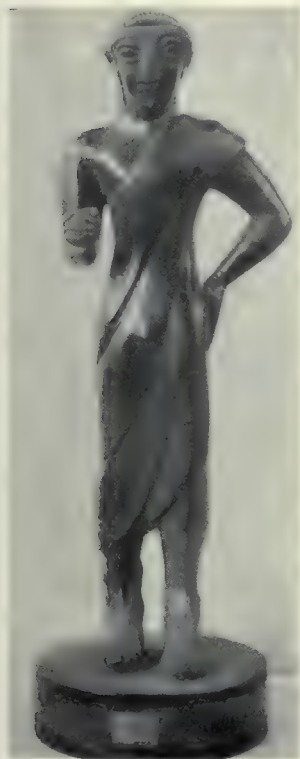


Fig. 35. - Etruscan togatus, early fifth century, Naples, Museo Nazionale.



Fig. 36. - Etruscan togatus, Florence 72725.



Fig. 37. - Etruscan togatus, early fifth century, British Museum 509.

bronze figures of men with hand on the hip and the semicircular cloak there is something reminiscent not only of the Imperial toga, but even of the pose of the Imperial *togatae effigies*. Such figures might well be described centuries later as *togatae sine tunica*.

<sup>172</sup> H. Payne, *Perachora, the Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia* (Oxford 1940) 228, no. 165, pl. 100, and references to others.

<sup>173</sup> Paris, Louvre. Giglioli, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) pl. CVIII. Ducati, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37) I, 228 f., II, pl. 81, fig. 232.

However, even in the archaic period the toga was not always worn without the tunic. One of the late archaic group of bronzes (Fig. 36)<sup>174</sup> represents a man wearing a long tunic (like that worn by the bronze Jupiters, Figs. 1 and 2) under his cloak, a cap with a brim and a pointed spike on the crown and carrying a curved staff in the right hand. Körte believed<sup>175</sup> that this bronze repre-



Fig. 38. — Etruscan togatus, early fifth century, Cassel.



Fig. 39. — Greek, geometric period, from Crete, Brooklyn.



Fig. 40. — Woman in toga, early fifth century, Rome, private collection.

sented an Etruscan priest holding a *lituus* and wearing a cap with an *apex* like that of the Roman *flamines*. The *lituus* is the regular attribute of the Roman augur,<sup>176</sup> and one of the statues of the Regal period which Pliny mentions did represent an augur, Attus Navius (34.21). Livy and Dionysius also speak of the statue and the circumstances of its erection: Tarquinius Priscus

<sup>174</sup> Florence, no. 72725, "Vertumnus."

<sup>175</sup> Körte, *Göttinger Bronzen* 14, 19 ff., pl. V f.

<sup>176</sup> Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.17. Livy, 1.18.7.

set up a bronze figure of the augur in front of the Curia to commemorate the miracle of the whetstone "on the very spot where the miracle occurred."<sup>177</sup> This statue had been destroyed by fire at the funeral of P. Clodius, but Dionysius describes it as a figure under life-size having a περιβολή on its head, and Livy says it was *capite velato*. A peribole is either a covering or a circuit, and according to the dictionaries one can *velare sese* (or *caput*) *toga, stola, purpureis tiaris, vittis, sertis, or corona*. We can only be sure, therefore, that the statue of Attus Navius had something on its head. Why not a cap with an *apex* (Fig. 36)?

If this bronze in Florence makes a good augur, why should not the other bronzes of this type do duty as ante-types for the kings on the Capitoline (Figs. 35, 37, 38)?

Of course, it is possible that the statues of the kings on the Capitoline no longer existed in Pliny's day, though he does not say so, as he does in the case of the statue of Attus Navius and the three figures of the Sibyl which the first Tarquin had set up and which had been restored later by the plebeian aediles (34.22). Vessberg argues<sup>178</sup> that the statues of the kings must have been destroyed in the fire that burned the temple of Jupiter in 83 B. C., since they stood near the door; this we know from Appian, who says that Tiberius Gracchus was killed at the doors of the temple close by the statues of the kings.<sup>179</sup> If the bronzes were destroyed in this fire (although it seems to me quite possible that statues which stood outside the building were untouched, even though the cult statue inside the temple was destroyed, perhaps by the roof falling in), the group that Dio Cassius mentions<sup>180</sup> would be a "restoration" of the original group, like that which the plebeian aediles made of the Sibyls. Dio Cassius says that in 45 B. C. a statue of Caesar was set up on the Capitoline beside the former kings of Rome; there were eight statues in the group, the eighth being Brutus. Plutarch also mentions this statue of Brutus with his drawn sword beside the kings on the Capitoline,<sup>181</sup> and Pliny says that it did not wear a toga (33.9; 34.28).

The statues of the kings that Dio Cassius and Pliny mention may, then, have been a restoration of an original group, as Vessberg believes. Vessberg is also of the opinion that the originals themselves were not archaic but a piece of romantic antiquarianism, dating from the time when the traditions of early Rome were being formed, in the third or second centuries B. C., the days of Fabius Pictor and Ennius.<sup>182</sup> It is true that in those centuries statues were

<sup>177</sup> Dionysius, 1.36.5.

<sup>178</sup> Vessberg, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) 84.

<sup>179</sup> Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, 1.2.16.

<sup>180</sup> Dio Cassius, 43.45.

<sup>181</sup> Plutarch, *Brutus* 1.

<sup>182</sup> Vessberg, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) 84.

erected not only to contemporaries but to famous men of earlier times;<sup>183</sup> Pliny himself was aware of this custom (34.26), but he makes no suggestion that the statues of the kings were restorations like those of the Sibyls or later dedications like the figures of Pythagoras and Alcibiades. As for the tradition of the regal period, it is surely as easy to start with a group of archaic statues on the Capitoline and name them the kings of Rome as to start by inventing a set of kings and putting up the statues to represent them later.



Fig. 41. - Brutus?  
Louvre 218, from Fal-  
terona.

The original group, whatever its date, may of course have been destroyed in the fire and later restored, even though neither Pliny nor any other ancient writer suggests such a thing. But one surely cannot say, as Vessberg does,<sup>184</sup> that the statues of the kings could not possibly have belonged to the regal period because the kingship was violently overthrown. Since the statues stood on the Capitoline, they must have been votive figures. Livy tells how Tarquinius Superbus had the whole area for the future temple de-consecrated — removed from the possession of the ancient gods — and rededicated to Jupiter.<sup>185</sup> And the statues stood just in front of the temple. Nobody would destroy an important votive offering to a god, no matter how aggravating the dedicator may have been,<sup>186</sup> nor need a votive statue be intended as a compliment to the man represented.<sup>187</sup>

There is, of course, no way to determine with certainty whether the statues of the kings that Pliny describes were really archaic; neither is there any reason why they (or the originals, if the first group was actually lost in the fire) could not have been archaic. And if they were archaic, and *togati*, the late archaic bronzes in togas (Figs. 35-39) must give a reasonable idea of their appearance.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Pausanias, 4.32.6; a bronze statue to the 6th century Messenian hero Aristomenes.

<sup>184</sup> Vessberg, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) 83.

<sup>185</sup> Livy, 1.55. 2-3.

<sup>186</sup> Pausanias, 1.28.1; a statue of Cylon, the would-be tyrant, on the Acropolis of Athens.

<sup>187</sup> Two statues of the Spartan general Pausanias were dedicated to Athena of the Brazen House by the Spartan ephors, because they had allowed him to starve to death in the sacred precinct (Thucydides, 1.134.7; Pausanias, 3.17.7). The dedication was an atonement by the ephors to the goddess, but it was not intended as an honor to Pausanias, who had been a traitor to the state.

<sup>188</sup> Perhaps the statue of Brutus with his drawn sword was put among those of the kings just because they were dedications and could not be disturbed. The figure of Brutus the tyrannicide might be thought to keep the kings in order, to remind them and Rome that kings could be dis-

## CONCLUSION.

This concludes the list of types used in Italy which seem to correspond to the types of ancient statues described by Pliny at Rome. His honorary types agree with the repertory of honorary types under the Empire. The nude figure leaning on a spear, the horseman, the chariot group are taken, as Pliny says, from Greek types used for victors at the great games. The first two are used in the Classical period in Etruria as well as in Greece, though as far as we know only for votive or decorative bronzes. The use of columns as bases for honorary statues seems to date from the fourth century in Rome as well as in Greece; the type of column, in the one illustration that we have, is Etruscan, not Greek. Pliny's fourth century *effigies togatae equestres* have an actual ancestor in the fifth century bronze in Detroit (Fig. 33). The first statues erected at Rome in honor of political heroes may well have been, like the earliest in Greece, set up after the man's death, and the statue of Horatius Cocles could have been a close contemporary of and directly inspired by the Tyrannicide group at Athens. The practice of honoring men with statues is, in short, exactly like that in Greece, but the types used at Rome, even when they are ultimately Greek, all seem to have been taken by the Romans directly from the Etruscans.

All of the archaic statues whose types Pliny or another ancient author describes can be illustrated by archaic Etruscan bronzes: the *togatae sine tunica*, the augur Attus Navius, a woman in a toga, Horatius in full armor, and one must add the Jupiter of the Capitoline, the clay Hercules, and perhaps a Janus Geminus. But there is one peculiarity about these archaic types; except for the warrior in armor, a type which is known in Etruria from the middle of the sixth century, every one of them is the same age. They all date from the very end of the archaic period, the period of Miss Richter's Ptoon 20 group (515-485 B. C.).

This was undoubtedly the great age of Etruscan sculpture; it produced the first big free-standing statues, except for some tomb figures, in Italy, and the quality of their technique and style is usually superb. This was the generation of Etruria's greatest wealth and power; Etruscan supremacy was at its height, and the sculpture of this generation was apparently a splendid imperial koiné. The style is practically the same throughout Etruria.

It looks as though all the archaic statues that Pliny spreads out through the regal period at Rome, from the days of Romulus on, if they were really archaic, were actually the result of a single spurt of activity in this one generation of

posed of. This was the effect the statue had on Marcus Brutus, according to Dio Cassius (43.45). There is a bronze in the Louvre (no. 218, ht. 21.8 cm, from Falterona; Fig. 41) of the same period and type as the figures in semi-circular cloaks, except that it is a nude. The right hand held some object; just possibly it was a sword.

Etruscan dominance. I should like to suggest that all the archaic statues at Rome were set up at once (except for the two early Republican ones, the figures of Horatius and Cloelia), by someone who was determined to make the city an Etruscan metropolis. The last king of Rome, in Livy's narrative,<sup>189</sup> had just such an ambition. He was responsible for the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, for the drainage of the city, and for the hegemony of Rome over the neighboring Latin cities. He was the first, too, to send an embassy to Greece. Why should not Tarquinius Superbus be responsible for the cult statues made for Rome by a Veientine artist and for an elaborate dedication on the Capitoline which included a whole family tree of Roman kings? Genelaos carved a family group for the sanctuary of Hera on Samos even earlier than the end of the sixth century.<sup>190</sup> The tradition that ascribed the archaic Roman statues to different donors and different dates could easily have grown up later, in the course of the Republic. The faintly mythical flavor of Tarquin the Proud himself does not outweigh the fact that Rome was, at the period when these late archaic statue types appeared in Etruria, a wealthy and powerful and expanding Etruscan city.

<sup>189</sup> Livy, 1.55-56.

<sup>190</sup> Ernst Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder* (Berlin 1934) 26 ff., figs. 90-101, five ladies and a gentleman. I am indebted to Dr. Hanfmann for this "parallel" to the Etruscan dedication.

A STATUE OF TRAJAN REPRESENTED  
ON THE "ANAGLYPHA TRAIANI"

BY

MASON HAMMOND



## A STATUE OF TRAJAN REPRESENTED ON THE "ANAGLYPHA TRAIANI."\*

The two sculptured panels known as the "Anaglypha Traiani" are among the most familiar pieces of Roman imperial art. Despite their familiarity, there has been no thorough study of them.<sup>1</sup> In the years following their discovery in 1872 their content and purpose was much discussed without any final agreement having been reached on the problems which they raise.<sup>2</sup> The present discussion does not undertake either a complete treatment of the reliefs or answers to all the problems. It will only attempt to answer one of the problems by reinforcing a suggestion made in the past, but not generally accepted, concerning the content of one of the scenes. This scene apparently commemorates the institution of funds for the support of poor children, the *alimenta*, by Trajan. The other scene seems just as certainly to represent the destruction of records of unpaid taxes by Hadrian. The present discussion seeks to confirm from an examination of types on coins a proposal made by earlier scholars that the central group in the scene commemorating the *alimenta* shows a statue

\* See plate at end of volume.

<sup>1</sup> G. Lugli, *Roma Antica: Il Centro Monumentale* (Rome, Bardi, 1946) 160-164 and *Monumenti Minori del Foro Romano* (Rome, Bardi, 1947) 107-108, briefly resumes the problems raised by the reliefs and gives some bibliography. See also S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Rome* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1929) 453-454, under *Rostra Augusti*. The fate of inadequate study of the obvious has been that of such prominent monuments as the Arch of Septimius Severus, which still awaits publication. The Arch of Constantine was only published in 1939, by H. P. L'Orange and Arnim von Gerkan; the Arch of Titus by K. Lehman-Hartleben in 1934; see his note on the lack of such studies in *BullComm* 62 (1934) 93 n. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Anna S. Johnson, "The Trajan-Reliefs in the Roman Forum," *AJA* (2nd. ser.) 5 (1901) 58-82, surveys the literature on the monuments up to that date. See also J. B. Carter, "The So-called Balustrades of Trajan," *AJA* (2nd. ser.) 14 (1910) 310-317. Despite the familiarity of the reliefs, the only adequate photographs large enough to show detail are those published shortly after their discovery as plates XLVII and XLVIII of vol. 9 (1869-1873) of *Monumenti Inediti pubbl. dall'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (*Monuments Inédits etc.*, Rome, publ. by the Institute). The photographs published herewith were taken with the kind permission of Prof. Romanelli, Superintendent of Antiquities for the Roman Forum, the Palatine, and Ostia, by Mr. J. Felbermeyer in Feb., 1952. Mr. Felbermeyer also made the plate of coin types from casts kindly supplied by the Keeper of Coins in the British Museum. Mr. Felbermeyer took more photographs of the anaglyphs than those used here and his negatives are available at the American Academy in Rome.

erected in honor of Trajan's act, perhaps in the Forum.<sup>3</sup> The scene itself may then be interpreted as commemorating an increase of the funds by Hadrian and both reliefs may thus be regarded as honoring him, probably early in his reign.

The commonly accepted attribution of the reliefs to Trajan was made by Henzen soon after their discovery.<sup>4</sup> However, even then Brizio proposed that they be assigned to Hadrian and, though he retracted his proposal in favor of Henzen's view, William Seston in 1927 argued forcefully for a Hadrianic date in what appears to be the most recent attempt to answer the problem of the purpose and content of the reliefs.<sup>5</sup> In the course of his discussion, he says: "il n'est pas nécessaire de recourir à l'hypothèse peu vraisemblable d'un groupe de statues élevées sur l'emplacement de l'*equus Domitiani*," namely to account for the apparent emphasis on Trajan's institution of the *alimenta*. He concluded that the artist attempted to show the significance of Hadrian's act by arbitrarily inserting into the scene an imaginary idealization of Trajan's great benefaction. Since, however, both scenes have a highly realistic character, it seems more likely that the artist introduced some actually existing statue-group to interpret the scene. Our sources are completely silent concerning the existence of such a commemorative statue-group, as, indeed, they are about many monuments and statues which can be shown to have existed in the Forum or elsewhere in Rome.<sup>6</sup> The designers of Roman coin types seem on occasion

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Strong, *Roman Sculpture etc.* (London, Duckworth; New York, Scribners, 1907) 152-153 (see also p. 96), believes that the group in the alimentary relief represents a statue group and says that this was first proposed by E. Petersen, "Reliefschränken auf dem Forum Romanum," *Abhandlungen* (not, as in her note, *Festschrift*) für Alexander von Oettingen (Munich, Beck, 1898) 130-143. Since on stylistic grounds, she accepted an early date for the reliefs, she thought that Trajan was shown proclaiming his own generosity before a statue already erected to commemorate it. Carter (last n.) also favors a statue group on the site of the equestrian statue of Domitian.

<sup>4</sup> Henzen's attribution to Trajan is accepted by Johnson (above n. 2). It has become the "orthodox" view.

<sup>5</sup> William Seston, "Les 'Anaglypha Trajani' du Forum Romain et la politique d'Hadrien en 118," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 44 (1927) 154-183. The statement quoted is on p. 164. With this apparently goes n. 1 on p. 165, where he says with reference to Carter (above nn. 2, 3) that his suggestion would necessitate explaining the silence of our texts about such a statue and also that it is hard to imagine so large a statue in the Forum.

<sup>6</sup> A statue of Tiberius, to be discussed below, is known to us only from a citation in Phlegon and from a coin type. The Arch of Titus is not mentioned by any ancient author, Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 45. The *equus Domitiani* is known only from Statius' description, *Silvae* 1. 1. The great equestrian statue of Trajan in his Forum is known from Ammianus Marcellinus 16. 10. 15, where he described the effect which it produced on Constantius II, see Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 239. W. H. Gross, *Bildnisse Traians* (Berlin, Mann, 1940; vol. II. 2 in Max Wegner, *Das römische Herrscherbild*) 13, thinks that this statue is shown on the reverse of a sestertius of Trajan, see his Tafel 44 no. k = BMC (next n.) III pl. 38 no. 2 (p. 206 no. 970). An equestrian statue of Constantine is only mentioned by the guide-books of the Late Empire, Lugli, *MonMin* 105 n. 1. An equestrian statue of Septimius is known from Herodian 2. 9.6, but Dio 74 (75). 3.3, relates the same

to have used statues as models and an examination of types of the seated emperor makes plausible the view that the coin type commemorating Trajan's act had a statue as a model.<sup>7</sup> Since this type closely resembles the group in the relief, the suggestion that a statue is represented is far more likely than Seston thought.

A brief survey of the problems presented by the reliefs is necessary to understand the particular one with which this discussion is concerned. For convenience, the scene concerned with the *alimenta* will be called the alimentary relief and the other the debt relief. The now traditional word "anaglyph" will be used for the composite slabs on which the reliefs are cut. The anaglyphs were found in 1872 in the base of a mediaeval construction at the west end of the Forum, in front of the main Rostra and just north of the space where it is likely that there stood the statue of Marsyas, the sacred fig-tree or *figus Ruminalis*, and a vine and an olive tree. When found, the anaglyphs still stood upright on, but not attached to, parallel bases composed of travertine blocks.<sup>8</sup> These

omen as does Herodian without mentioning the statue. For the equestrian statues, see E. Babut "Les Statues Equestres du Forum." *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 30 (1900) 209-222. For literary references to monuments in the Forum, see A. S. Owen and T. B. L. Webster, *Excerpta ex antiquis Scriptoris quae ad Forum Romanum spectant* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930). Prof. Lugli promises a much more complete collection of literary references to monuments in Rome, which will undoubtedly alter the above statements. The sources for the reign of Trajan are in any case scarce; see R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps* (Messina, Principato, 1926) I iii-iv (preface), 3-44 (ch. I). Hence silence about a statue group commemorating the *alimenta* cannot be taken to disprove the existence of such a monument.

<sup>7</sup> The discussion of coins will be based on *The British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire* (edited by Harold Mattingly) vols. I-V (1923-1950), covering the period from Augustus through Elagabalus. This will be cited hereafter as *BMC*. Dr. Mattingly's retirement with the completion of vol. V will be regretted by all those who have profited from his masterly arrangement and exposition of the coins. There is no general discussion of the use of statues as models for coin types, but Mr. Cornelius Vermeule promises one as a thesis for the University of London about 1953. Mattingly occasionally proposes statues as models. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (*Numismatic Studies* 5, New York, American Numismatic Society, 1944) 211-228 discusses the possible use of statues as models in her chapter III of part V, "Medallions and Roman Art." See also Gross, *BildTraians* (above n. 6) 13-15; Strong, *Rom. Sculpt* 96. Annalina Caló Levi, *Barbarians on Roman Imperial Coins and Sculpture* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* n. 123, New York, Am. Num. Soc., 1952), assumes throughout her study that sculpture provided prototypes for coins; see for some general references pp. 1-2, 49.

<sup>8</sup> For the statue of Marsyas etc., see Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 207-208, 419, and Lugli, *Roma Ant* 89-90, 155. It is noteworthy that the statue shown is of a Silenus with a wine-skin, not the traditional Marsyas either with his pipe or being flayed. The space assigned to this group was found without pavement when the Forum was excavated and recently a fig-tree, vine, and olive have been planted in it. Jenkins, *AJA* 5 (1901) 58 n. 1, states that the marble bases which show in the older photographs between the travertine blocks and the anaglyphs themselves, and which are now in the Curia, below n. 13, were introduced by the excavators to level up and consolidate the anaglyphs. On the same page, she gives the dimensions of the wholly preserved anaglyph as 5.37 m. (17 ft. 5 in.) long and 1.75 m. (5 ft. 9 in.) high and the distance between them when found as 3 m. (9 ft. 8 in.).

bases, of rough and late workmanship, rested on top of the travertine paving of the Forum. It seems, therefore, as if the anaglyphs had been removed during the late Empire, or even the early Middle Ages, from some other location.<sup>9</sup> It hardly seems likely that they would have been installed upright and on bases simply to serve as a foundation for the structure in which they were discovered. Their parallel arrangement suggests that they might have flanked a passage-way or entrance but their location bears no obvious relation to other monuments which might explain such a passage-way. Possibly, therefore, they were simply set up in this way in a convenient open space where they could be seen. Mrs. Strong has suggested that the statue which she thinks served as model for the group on the alimentary relief later gave rise to the mediaeval legend of Trajan's justice to the poor woman, the myth which secured for him the intercession of Gregory the Great and, according to mediaeval belief, his removal from Limbo to Heaven.<sup>10</sup> The connection with so renowned a figure

<sup>9</sup> The alimentary relief shows on the front two pairs of arrows, and on the top another pair, which were apparently guide marks for matching the blocks at some time. The first pair is between the right hand columns of the facade behind the speaker, above the upraised hand of the front man in the audience, and the arrows on the two blocks match. The second pair is just below the lower left leaf of the fig-tree, and the two arrows do not meet. The third pair is on the top surface of the moulding block, near the edge, just above the second pair, and these meet. It seems unlikely that the original sculptor needed such marks or would have left them visible had he used them. But equally they seem hardly necessary for reassembling the blocks after a moving, since, despite the similarity between the blocks in the two anaglyphs, the buildings and figures so overlap between blocks that confusion in reassembling would be almost impossible. Also, it is odd that no such marks are visible on the debt anaglyph. While it cannot be asserted positively that these marks are an evidence that the anaglyphs were moved at some time, they suggest that such a movement took place and at a period when some such guidance for reassembly was deemed necessary even with the clear indications accorded by the reliefs themselves. This suggests that the marks, and the moving, date in the "Dark Ages;" see next n.

<sup>10</sup> Strong, *RomSculpt* 153. The legend of Trajan and the widow is translated by B. W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors etc.* (Cambridge, Eng., University Press, 1927) 179-180: it is discussed by R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps* II 313-315. The source of the legend may be a remark in Dio, 69. 6.3, that Hadrian, not Trajan, was once stopped by an importunate woman. When he said that he had no time for her, she replied "then don't be emperor." Thereupon he gave her satisfaction. The intercession of Gregory for Trajan first appears about a century after that Pope's reign, 590-604 A. D., but Paribeni, p. 313, accepts the intercession as authentic. The intercession is first connected with the legend of the widow by Paul the Deacon in the 8th cent., in his *Life of Gregory* 4. 44. A mediaeval annalist of the 12th cent. refers to a relief representing the scene as existing in the Forum of Trajan and De Rossi first suggested that such a relief may have shown a province suppliant before Trajan; see Paribeni p. 314. Henderson suggests "some (misinterpreted) relief in the Roman Forum." If the legend of Trajan's justice to the widow was already established by the time of Gregory, it might well have been connected with the alimentary relief in the Forum, or with some corresponding relief in the Forum of Trajan; see below n. 141. That the Forum was still in use in the early 7th cent. is shown by the erection there, on the pavement, of the Column of Phocas, who reigned

as Trajan, if recognized in the reliefs, might account for their preservation as objects of interest to sight-seers. But such a suggestion is entirely hypothetical. In fact, although the background of the scenes and the place of finding strongly suggest that the anaglyphs originally stood somewhere in the Forum, this is itself incapable at present of absolute proof.

If the reason for the moving and preservation of the anaglyphs is obscure, even more so is their original purpose. They are composed of blocks of Pentelic marble, of varied sizes and shapes, but matching as to size and shape in each anaglyph. The alimentary anaglyph is almost complete, save for a short section of moulding at the top; the debt anaglyph lacks a slab at one end and most of its upper moulding, including a long block which reached down below the moulding into the relief. The blocks were certainly not deliberately cut for the purpose; the sculptor must have availed himself of available blocks in miscellaneous sizes, which he then cut in half, or of two parallel sets of blocks prepared for or used in some other monument.<sup>11</sup> The three preserved ends of the anaglyphs are finished off with overhanging mouldings and inset panels. It is clear, therefore, that they always stood free and did not form part of a continuous wall or railing. Since they are sculptured on both sides, they must have been meant to be visible from both sides, and not to be applied to the front of some monument. The flat surface of the top of the moulding blocks,

from 602-610 A. D. Seston in fact suggests that the anaglyphs were moved from the enclosure of the statue of Marsyas when the column was erected, *MélRome* 44 (1927) 179. Actually the corner of the base of the column, removed by the excavators, would have fallen just short of the enclosure; see Seston's plan, p. 177, or Lugli's, *RomaAnt* 155. Yet the conjunction of dates between the erection of the column and the possible recognition of the legend by Pope Gregory is suggestive of a cause for the removal of the anaglyphs and of a reason for their preservation. On the upper surface of the moulding of the alimentary relief, just to the left of the break, is cut a cross, near the edge. The arm of the cross towards the break has been lopped off, which indicates that the break was cut through after the cross had been made and probably, therefore, when the anaglyphs were incorporated into the mediaeval tower. The cross suggests that the anaglyph had been consecrated and a reason for consecration would have been the belief that it represented Trajan's act of justice which secured his admission to Heaven by the intercession of Gregory. The cross may therefore date from the time when the anaglyphs were moved to the bases on which they were found and when, perhaps, the guide marks mentioned in the last note were also cut, though it should be noted that the cross is neatly and carefully incised whereas the guide marks are very roughly cut.

<sup>11</sup> Prof. Brown of the American Academy in Rome suggests that blocks of Pentelic marble were imported from Greece in irregular sizes and that the sculptors had to adapt these to their design; he compares the irregular blocks used in the Column of Trajan. He also proposes that the similarity in size and shape of the blocks in the anaglyphs resulted from cutting original blocks in half. Certainly, the shapes of the blocks do not readily suggest any type of monument for which they might originally have been prepared. I am indebted for many suggestions and criticisms to Prof. Brown, Prof. Woodbridge, Mr. Frudakis, and Mr. Felbermeyer, all of the American Academy.

where preserved, and cuttings for clamps, which seem to be original, suggest that they had some sort of further extension on top.<sup>12</sup>

When the anaglyphs were found, the historical reliefs were on the outside faces, with the debt relief facing east towards the open part of the Forum and the alimentary relief facing west towards the Rostra.<sup>13</sup> On the inside faces were reliefs of the three sacrificial animals, the pig, the sheep, and the bull, or the *suovetaurilia*. These were faced in the same direction, moving south or towards the Basilica Julia. On each of the historical reliefs there is at the end towards which the animals on the reverses move (the south end) a representation of the statue of Marsyas and the fig-tree. The action in each case develops towards the other (the north) end at which on the alimentary relief there is a figure standing on a platform decorated with *rostra* addressing a crowd and on the debt relief the remains of a figure seated on a similar platform with *rostra* supervising the destruction of records.

<sup>12</sup> The top of the moulding which crowns the main moulding blocks is flat and cuttings are preserved at both ends of the alimentary anaglyph and at the preserved end of the debt anaglyph. Near the center of the top surface of the moulding of the alimentary relief, where the crowning moulding is missing, is a considerable hole and a suggestion, in the preparation of the surface, that the crowning moulding may have been interrupted here. At the corners of the flat top surface of the moulding blocks, before the crowning moulding begins, are small holes. It is very hard to imagine what all of these were meant for and the problem is not relevant to the present discussion. The anaglyphs could hardly have formed part of the dividing walls of passages in an arch because their design and their thinness are not adapted to such a use. They are themselves high enough (nearly 6 ft., above n. 8) to constitute railings, without any further extension on top. Moreover, the general design of the reliefs and the finish of some of the under surfaces indicates that they were meant to be seen somewhat from below and so stood at a greater height from the ground than they did on the travertine bases on which they were found.

<sup>13</sup> The anaglyphs are now housed for protection in the restored Senate House, or Curia, in the Forum, whither Prof. Romanelli informs me that they were moved in Jan., 1949. At that time it appears that unfortunately no careful study was made of any evidences on the undersides for the original attachments or, in general, for the way in which they were originally put together. The photographs for this article were taken in the Curia; Alinari photographs nos. 6253 (the alimentary relief) and 6254 (the debt relief) show them as they stood formerly in the Forum, with the modern marble bases between them and the travertine blocks. In the photographs in the *Monumenti Inediti* (above n. 2), the backgrounds have been blacked out and, while the debt anaglyph is shown on the marble base on top of the travertine blocks, the alimentary relief is shown on a base which does not resemble the present marble base and which is not on the travertine blocks; perhaps it was photographed on some temporary base before it was replaced in position. The modern marble bases are now under the anaglyphs in the Curia. The travertine bases show slight cuttings for the marble bases, which are undoubtedly modern. Discoloration and weathering, but not cuttings, define the spaces on the travertine bases where the anaglyphs originally stood. In the Curia, the positions of the anaglyphs have been reversed, so that the historical reliefs are on the inside faces and the *suovetaurilia* on the outside. However, the direction of movement of the animals and the position of the fig-tree and statue of Marsyas are still roughly south, though the alignment is a little different from that of the travertine blocks, which remain in their original locations.

These various points have led to many different suggestions as to where the anaglyphs were originally placed. Most scholars regard them as railings for one or another of the speakers' platforms, *rostra* or *tribunalia*, known or supposed to have stood in the Forum.<sup>14</sup> Such a use would not be inappropriate for the historical reliefs but leaves unexplained the significance of the sacrificial animals. Seston thought that Hadrian restored and purified the area of the statue of Marsyas and set up the reliefs on either side to protect the area.<sup>15</sup> This would account for the *suovetaurilia*, as the purificatory sacrifice, but raises the question of what was on the other two sides of the area and why Hadrian did not enclose it with a continuous wall, with openings as desired, rather than with two free-standing barriers. A definite answer to the problem of location and purpose is probably impossible, at least without a detailed study of the anaglyphs to see if they show traces of attachment or the like which would give some lead. Nor is a definite answer essential to the present discussion.

However, the circumstances of discovery and the similarity of the anaglyphs in respect to physical make-up, style, and character, suggest that the subjects of the historical reliefs should be closely connected. This suggestion is confirmed by the probability, to be discussed presently, that the background of the scenes is continuous and tied together by the repetition from one to the other of the statue of Marsyas and the fig-tree. While it cannot be proved that the two scenes were not meant to be seen, as they were found, separately, they produce a strong impression of continuity so that actually the anaglyphs may have stood originally along a single front, with both scenes towards the spectator. If so, and if, as the finished ends suggest, there was an open space between, probably the ends towards which the animals move on one face and which have the statue of Marsyas on the other were either side of the central space and the movement of the historical scenes was outward in either direction towards the two figures on the platforms. Thus the alimentary relief would have been to the spectator's left and the debt relief to his right.

Attempts to date the reliefs on stylistic grounds have achieved no unanimity. Though Mrs. Strong felt compelled by the subject matter to assign the reliefs

<sup>14</sup> References to the various proposals as to the original purpose and place of the anaglyphs will be found in the studies cited in nn. 1, 2, 3 above. For the different *rostra* or tribunals, see Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* and Lugli, *RomaAnt* and *MonMin*, under these two words.

<sup>15</sup> Seston *MélRome* 44 (1927) 176-179. He found a cutting in a marble block along one edge of the enclosure which he thought might have served for one of the anaglyphs and he felt that their length was suitable. But it does not seem as though the anaglyphs would have extended the full length of the enclosure and their finished ends militate against the existence of any corner posts, quite apart from the problem whether the other two sides of the enclosure were left wholly open. On the other hand, the sides of the enclosure are not long enough to have permitted the anaglyphs to stand along one edge, either side of an opening into the area.

to Trajan, she regarded the technique as a continuation of that popular under Domitian.<sup>16</sup> Sieveking felt that the reliefs show a decline in the ability to handle groups, as compared with the reliefs of the Arch of Titus, and compared them to other reliefs of Trajan's reign.<sup>17</sup> Seston, who argues for a Hadrianic date on historical grounds, thinks the treatment comparable to that of the reliefs on the attic of Trajan's arch at Beneventum, which belong at least late in Trajan's reign and which some scholars have dated early in Hadrian's reign because of the prominence which Hadrian assumes in them.<sup>18</sup> Miss Toynbee, accepting Seston's arguments, thinks that the personified figure of Italia is comparable to similar figures on the late coinage of Trajan and more particularly on the early coinage of Hadrian which commemorates the *alimenta* with the legend *libertas restituta* and which will be discussed presently.<sup>19</sup> The discovery late in 1937 of two great reliefs honoring Domitian suggests that what had previously been regarded as the Hadrianic style, of rather shallow relief and widely spaced figures and a high surface finish, actually was being used alongside of the more deeply cut, crowded, and realistic historical style of the anaglyphs. Magi, in his publication of the new reliefs, revived an older suggestion that the Arch of Titus was not erected under Domitian, whose unwillingness to honor his brother is well known, but early in the reign of Trajan.<sup>20</sup> Since the reliefs of this arch seem similar in style to the anaglyphs, this would constitute an added argument in favor of an overlap between the two techniques.

The new Domitianic reliefs also show that the mingling on the same level of human and divine or personified figures, which is so marked a characteristic of Trajanic art, does not appear first, as Lehmann-Hartleben thought, on the Arch of Titus. It is already fully developed on these reliefs, granted, of course,

<sup>16</sup> Strong, *RomSculp* 151-157. In the Italian translation by G. Giannelli, *La Scultura Romana* (Florence, Fratelli Alinari, 1923) I 141-142, the view is more strongly expressed that the reliefs formed part of the enclosure of the equestrian statue of Domitian; for other supporters of this view, see Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 454, where it is firmly rejected.

<sup>17</sup> J. Sieveking, "Das römische Relief," *Festschrift Paul Arndt* (Munich, Bruckmann, 1925) 28-29.

<sup>18</sup> Seston, *MélRome* 44 (1927) 181-182.

<sup>19</sup> J. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, Eng., University Press, 1934) 110; see appendix II, p. 246, for a summary of dates proposed for the anaglyphs, and introduction, pp. xxvi-xxviii, for the change in technique which she finds under Hadrian.

<sup>20</sup> F. Magi, *I Rilievi Flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria* (*Mon. Vat. di Arch. e d'Arte* VIII; Rome, Bardi for the Pont. Accad. Rom. di Arch., 1945). See pp. 37-51 for the discovery. The reliefs are each composed of several slabs, which do not correspond in the two reliefs. One slab, found outside the extra-territorial area of the Palazzo, is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori as property of the Comune of Rome; the remainder are in the Vatican Museum. On pp. 160-162, Magi accepts the proposal of D. McFayden, "The Date of the Arch of Titus," *CJ* II (1915) 131-141, that the arch was erected under Trajan as part of the reaction against Domitian.

that they are earlier.<sup>21</sup> The ease with which this device is used on both the Domitianic reliefs and the Arch of Titus suggests that, as Lehmann-Hartleben judged from coins, its origins reach further back into Nero's reign. Since this device continued to be popular under Hadrian and the Antonines, the confronting of the seated figure with a personified type of Italia establishes no criterion of date nor does it in itself support the suggestion that this group represents actual statuary. Similarly, the setting of the scenes against a realistic background does not help to date them. This practice is, indeed, common in Antonine relief and is only suggested by the arch shown in the panel of the spoils of Jerusalem from the Arch of Titus. The Domitianic reliefs show no background. Yet as early as the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus, the historical procession takes place without any background while the Sacrifice of Aeneas at the site of Rome has a fully developed setting in the manner of Hellenistic landscape relief and painting.<sup>22</sup>

The general execution of the reliefs gives an impression of somewhat less skill and care than might be expected in view of the importance of the subjects and of their location, if they were in the Forum.<sup>23</sup> The maeander along the moulding is rather free and irregular and the handling of details of costume and figures somewhat coarse. While the details of costume cast light on, and suggest problems concerning, the events represented, they do not serve as criteria for dating. Despite the very severe damage to almost all the heads in the anaglyphs, some show beards such as are characteristic of the Hadrianic period, for instance perhaps the two figures behind the stooping lictor at the right of the debt relief and certainly the central figure of the group before the

<sup>21</sup> K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "L'arco di Tito," *BullComm* 62 (1934) 89-122. For the mingling of human and divine, pp. 103-106. On p. 109 n. 60, he rejects on stylistic grounds Mafayden's suggestion that the arch was erected under Trajan, but as indicated in the last note, style may not be so precise a criterion.

<sup>22</sup> The treatment in the text does not purport to survey adequately the function of the background in Roman relief sculpture, of which I have found no discussion. It might be suggested that background serves two different functions: one as part of the scene represented, for instance in the Sacrifice of Aeneas or, in a highly developed form, on the Column of Trajan; the other as a simple identification of location, as on the anaglyphs or on the Tomb of the Haterii. Older discussions of the *Ara Pacis*, such as Mrs. Strong's, *RomSculp* 39-58, have been corrected in detail by the reconstruction of the altar in 1938, see briefly G. Moretti, *L'Ara Pacis Augustae (Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia)*, Rome, Libreria dello Stato for the Ministero della Ed. Naz., 1938). A good selection of plates of reliefs from those of Domitian through those of the Column of Marcus Aurelius will be found in P. G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art* (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1945).

<sup>23</sup> The sacrificial animals on the reverses of the anaglyphs produce an impression of greater skill of execution than do the historical reliefs. This might be construed as support for the view that the anaglyphs were railings for a platform so that the historical reliefs would have been seen from below, at a distance, while the sacrificial reliefs would have been seen close to, by persons on the platform. However, the technical execution of the anaglyphs requires closer study.

speaker in the alimentary relief. Seston argued against Brizio that the seated figure on the platform in the alimentary relief shows no traces of a beard and that there could be recognized the broad flat cranium, sloping towards a low forehead, which was characteristic of Trajan.<sup>24</sup> This statement, however, seems to read a good deal into the remaining outline of the head and cannot prove of itself that a seated figure of Trajan is shown in a group with some Hadrianic beards. In any case, despite the widespread imitation of Hadrian's beard by his contemporaries, bearded figures appear earlier. For instance, in the Domitianic reliefs, youthful beards appear on Domitian, an *apparitor*, and a legionary and a considerable beard on one of the officers, apart from those on the gods or personifications.<sup>25</sup> Hence the features represented cannot be taken as determining the dating. In general as regards style, costume, and features, it is probable that different concepts and methods overlapped and that within the twenty, or even ten, years which probably represent the outside temporal limits of the anaglyphs, there was no abrupt change in these matters which could serve as an absolute criterion for dating.

The two scenes are, as has been said, set against backgrounds of buildings and are framed between monuments. These are all so realistically dealt with that they must be meant to localize the scenes and interpret them. This is not to say that the sculptor has accurately delineated his buildings; such was not in general the practice in antiquity.<sup>26</sup> But despite his "short-hand" treatment, he has clearly sought to show distinguishing features which would make them identifiable. On the one hand, therefore, minor differences of treatment, such as the differing size of the arcades in the two backgrounds or the differing mouldings on the two speaker's platforms, do not necessarily suffice to show that different buildings are meant; on the other hand, it must be that the sculptor intended to put his scenes in a setting of actual buildings and monuments which had in fact somewhat the spatial arrangement which he gave them.

The most readily identifiable monuments are the similar groups to the right of the alimentary relief and the left of the debt relief. In the position in which the anaglyphs were found, these ends were, as has been said, the south

<sup>24</sup> Seston, *MélRome* 44 (1927) 163.

<sup>25</sup> Magi, *Rilievi Flavi* pl. XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XXIII, shows some of the bearded humans from the Domitianic reliefs.

<sup>26</sup> There appears to be no general treatment of the representations of buildings etc. on Roman reliefs and coins, see briefly Hamberg, *RomImpArt* 95-96. A relief from the Tomb of the Haterii of Flavian date shows the Forum, Lugli, *MonMin* 177, and identification of its buildings affords difficulties similar to those presented by the anaglyphs. The frieze of the Arch of Constantine shows the Rostra, Lugli, *RomaAnt* 141.

ends, toward the Basilica Julia and toward the same ends move the sacrificial animals on the other faces. The monuments in question are a fig-tree to the left and a statue of a Silenus carrying a wine-skin to the right and it should be remarked that they bear this same relation on both reliefs. These are clearly the *figus Ruminalis* and the statue of Marsyas, which probably stood, as was noted above, just to the south of the point where the anaglyphs were found, near the Column of Phocas.<sup>27</sup> They therefore fix the location of both scenes as the Roman Forum.

Proceeding from this identification, it has generally been agreed that the background of the debt relief represents the south-west part of the Forum, namely six arcades of the Basilica Julia, the Temples of Vespasian and Saturn, and the front of the main Rostra.<sup>28</sup> Probably the missing slab showed behind the seated figure on the Rostra the façade of the Temple of Concord.<sup>29</sup> The one uncertainty in this identification is the appearance between or behind the two temples of an unknown arch.<sup>30</sup>

Without entering into a detailed discussion of the archaeological problems, it may be stated briefly that two interpretations have been offered for the background of the alimentary relief. The more popular is that it represents the north side of the Forum, showing from right to left seven arcades of the Basilica Aemilia, the empty space of the Argiletum, the Curia, and again the Rostra with an arch behind it which is otherwise unknown but which presumably occupied the location of the Arch of Septimius Severus.<sup>31</sup> There are four difficulties with this interpretation. The first is, as was said, minor, namely the difference between the moulding of the platform in this scene and that in

<sup>27</sup> Fig-tree and Marsyas, above n. 8; Column of Phocas, above n. 10.

<sup>28</sup> For the Temple of Saturn, as restored after a fire in the 4th cent. A. D., Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 464-465; for the Temple of Vespasian, p. 556. Each had, as shown on the debt relief, six columns across the front and the capitals of Saturn are as represented Ionic, those of Vespasian Corinthian; see Seston, *MélRome* 44 (1927) 164-165.

<sup>29</sup> For the Temple of Concord, Jenkins, *AJA* 5 (1901) 80. For the Rostra as restored by Augustus, Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 452-453. On p. 454, they adhere to the view that the anaglyphs were originally railings for the ends of the Rostra. See also Lugli, *RomaAnt* 140-144, *MónMin* 65-74.

<sup>30</sup> The arch shown between the temples, whether actually connected with them or behind, can hardly be the Arch of Tiberius, which stood on the other side of the Temple of Saturn, in front of the corner of the Basilica Julia, Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 45; Lugli, *RomaAnt* 152. It is correctly shown on the Constantinian frieze, Lugli, p. 141. Nor is it likely, as Jenkins suggests, *AJA* 5 (1901) 81, that the last arcade of the Tabularium could be shown as seen between the temples by an observer standing about in front of the Curia.

<sup>31</sup> The "opposite" interpretation, propounded by Henzen, is accepted by Jenkins, *AJA* 5 (1901) 78-81, by Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 454, and on the whole by Lugli, *RomaAnt* 162-163. See also Chr. Hülsen, *The Roman Forum* (trans. J. B. Carter, Rome, Loescher, ed. 2 1909) 100-105.

the debt scene.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, the façade behind the speaker bears no resemblance to that of the Curia as known from a coin of Augustus and from the surviving reconstruction by Diocletian.<sup>33</sup> Thirdly, it would be impossible from any position more or less on a line with the Rostra to see any, not to speak of seven, arcades, of the Basilica Aemilia to the left of the fig-tree. Finally, if the observer moved from the north side of the Forum to the south, and looked back at the fig-tree and statue of Marsyas, their relative positions should be reversed and it is not likely that the artist's "short-hand" treatment would have short-cut this obvious fact.<sup>34</sup>

It is therefore preferable to assume that by showing the fig-tree and the statue of Marsyas in the same relative position, the artist meant to show that

<sup>32</sup> Seston, *MélRome* 44 (1927) 166 n. 1, notes the difference in the treatment of the mouldings on the two platforms. At first sight it also looks as though the beaks (*rostra*) in the debt relief were shown in a single line while those in the alimentary relief were alternating in two lines. However the badly broken projection under the feet of the figure in the debt relief appears to represent a beak placed above the two below, as in the alimentary relief. O. Richter reconstructs the arrangement of the *rostra* on the main Rostra, on that before the Temple of Caesar, and even on that of the Temple of Castor in alternating rows, see *JDAI* 4 (1889) 8 and 141, and 13 (1898) 110 and Taf. 7; for the Temple of Castor see also below n. 39. The reconstructed façade of the main Rostra, based on the surviving ancient part to the right, shows pairs of holes alternating in two rows for the *rostra* but cuttings only for the lower row.

<sup>33</sup> Denarii of Octavian, probably minted in the east between 29 and 27 B. C., bear on the reverse a building with a "one story" porch across the front and apparently protruding to run along the sides. Above are shown three windows and a pediment. The lower cornice of the pediment bears the legend *Imp. Caes.* See *BMC* I cxx and 101 for the date, and cxxiii n. 4 and 103 nos. 631, 632 = plate 15 nos. 12, 13. An enlarged photograph of the reverse, clearer than those in *BMC* I and showing, apparently, that the overlapping ends of the porch are set back relative to the façade, is in Lugli, *RomaAnt* 132. Because Mattingly did not think that Augustus would have put *Imp. Caes.* on the front of a building so intimately connected with the Republic as the Curia, he sought to identify this type with the Temple of Caesar, and other identifications have been offered. But the close resemblance to the Diocletianic reconstruction and other technical arguments have led the bulk of scholars, including Lugli, to accept the identification with the Curia. The die-cutter probably simply selected a suitable space for his legend and did not mean to imply that it actually stood on the building; compare the placing of the legend on an arch, *BMC* I pl. 15 no. 8 = 102 no. 624; on a temple, pl. 15 no. 14 = 104 no. 643; and on a shield, pl. 15 no. 18 = 105 no. 644; and see the discussion of all these types on pp. cxxiii-cxxv. The supporters of the "opposite" interpretation argue that Domitian rebuilt the Curia in the form shown on the anaglyph but it seems unlikely that in this case Diocletian's reconstruction would have followed so closely the form shown on the denarii of Octavian. For general discussions of the Curia, see Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 143-146; Lugli, *RomaAnt* 131-138, esp. the photograph of the recent restoration on p. 135. This photograph shows beam-holes across the façade above between the door and three windows, suitable for the roof of a porch as shown on the denarii. The pavement before the Curia shows traces of square column bases but these seem too small for columns of the height posited by the beam holes.

<sup>34</sup> For the view that the sculptor failed to reverse the positions of the fig-tree and statue of Marsyas simply for artistic effects, see Jenkins, *AJA* 5 (1901) 78. The view is criticized by Carter, *AJA* 14 (1910) 314, who makes the point raised presently in the text that the Basilica Aemilia is, on the "opposite" interpretation, impossibly dislocated to the left.

the point of view remained the same. The background of the alimentary scene therefore continues from this group along the south side of the Forum.<sup>35</sup> Seven more of the seventeen arcades of the Basilica Julia are shown and their slightly narrower dimensions as compared with the six on the debt relief may be attributed to the artist's "short-hand".<sup>36</sup> Then come the façade of the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Arch of Augustus. These, too, are not carefully shown. The Temple of Castor and Pollux had eight columns across the front, not the in any case impossible five of the relief, and its podium was accessible by steps from the side, not the front as shown in the relief.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The "continuous" interpretation, first proposed by Nichols, is accepted by Carter, *AJA* 14 (1910) 313-316, and by Seston, *Mélanges de Rome* 44 (1927) 165.

<sup>36</sup> On the debt relief, only a fragment of the top block is preserved, which shows the top of a pilaster and the springs of the arches on either side. On the basis of this, Jenkins, *AJA* 5 (1901) 79, states that these arches as compared to those on the alimentary relief were wider by 3 cm. and higher by 3.5 cm. However, the arches on the alimentary relief vary considerably between themselves and the artist may not have been so much concerned to show exactly similar arches as to fit his design to the total space, without worrying about minor variations. Probably, also, he did not mean to imply by showing a total of thirteen arcades that the fig-tree and statue of Marsyas would have covered as many as four of the seventeen of the Basilica Julia, for which see Lugli's plan of the Forum, *RomaAnt* 112 or *MonMin* 194, which is accurate in this respect. The ends of the basilica next the fig-tree and statue respectively come at the end of blocks and are cut off at the edges of the pilasters, rather than of the complete pillars behind them. At the other ends (the ends of the Basilica Julia on the "continuous" interpretation) the debt relief shows a full pillar (above the pile of records) but, curiously, also the impost for an arch which would not be placed at the corner of a building. On the alimentary relief, the end of the building comes again at a break between slabs and the edge is damaged, but there is space for the pillar to show to the left of the pilaster. Whether these differences of treatment were meant to show that a continuous façade was broken by the fig-tree group but complete at the other ends must remain uncertain. It may be noted that the pilasters against the pillars are shown flat on the reliefs but were in fact half-rounds on the Basilica Julia. This difference and possible differences in the handling of the impost capitals and mouldings of the arches probably result from the artist's "short-hand." The keystones of the arches on the alimentary relief show chimaera heads, that is, a lion's mask with goat's horns and wings underneath. This is, as Prof. Brown suggests, probably meant to be the identifying sign of the building. Unfortunately no keystones from either the Basilica Julia or the Aemilia survive and also no representation of a keystone is preserved for the debt relief, to serve to connect or differentiate the two façades.

<sup>37</sup> For the Temple of Castor and Pollux, Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 104; Lugli, *RomaAnt* 179-182. Lugli, p. 182, gives references for the plan of this temple on the Severan *Forma Urbis* and for the use of the podium, approached by steps from the side, as a speaker's platform. The representation of a façade with five columns, the central one in front of a presumed central door, seems extreme even for artistic "short-hand." To say that exigencies of space led to compression of the façade implies that the artist was not intelligent enough to draw out his design before beginning to carve it. In defense of the steps, it should be noted, that, as Lugli says, the *Forma Urbis* shows a flight right across the front, interrupted in the middle by an altar. Lugli suggests that this was altered to a podium with side steps by Tiberius or Domitian, which would mean that the Severan *Forma* copied an Augustan precursor without bringing it up to date. The fragments in question are well shown in *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1882, tav. XIV. The steps might be further justified by

The Arch of Augustus had in its final form three passages, not one as shown.<sup>38</sup>

On this interpretation, the platform at the left of the alimentary relief would be at the east end of the Forum and is taken to be that in front of the Temple of the deified Julius Caesar, on which the beaks of the ships captured at Actium were displayed. This identification does indeed present the problem that the platform shown in the relief, with a sloping approach from the rear, can hardly have been attached directly to a building, as is assumed of the *Rostra ad divi Iulii*.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, the "continuous" interpretation of the background is preferable to the "opposite" one.

assuming that the artist showed those which even in the final form led up from the platform to the colonnade, and which reached all across the front; see O. Richter, "Der Castortempel am Forum Romanum," *JDAI* 13 (1898) 94; and reconstruction in Taf. 7. On pp. 113-114, Richter accuses the *Forma Urbis* of having obscured the difference between platform and steps. The artist of the reliefs may have done the same and have meant the space below the steps to represent the front of the platform; see further below n. 39.

<sup>38</sup> The Arch of Augustus was probably initially a single arch but almost at once made into a triple arch; see A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII. 1 (*Fasti Cons. et Triumph.*, Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1947) 19 with reviews by A. W. Van Buren in *AJP* 69 (1948) 102-105; L. R. Taylor, "Degrassi's Edition of the Consular and Triumphal Fasti," *CP* 14 (1950) 87-92; and A. E. and J. S. Gordon in *AJA* 55 (1951) 279-280. Excavations conducted in the winter of 1951/1952 should cast further light on its construction. A parallel to the showing of a triple arch as single might be found in the relief from the Arch of Titus which shows the spoils from Jerusalem being carried through a single arch. An inscription, *CIL* VI 944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264, reported from the Circus Maximus belonged to an arch erected to Titus in his tenth tribunician power, 80/81 A. D., to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem. This was probably triple, since H. Jordan, *Forma Urbis Romae* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1874) frag. 38 on tab. VIII, shows triple entrances at both ends of the Circus. Whether the Arch of Titus was erected immediately after his death in 81 or only under Trajan, above n. 20, the artist may have shown the permanent arch of 81, with statuary on top, as a single arch. However, he may equally have shown some temporary structure erected for the triumph in 71, so that this is not a sure parallel. For the arches of Titus, see Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 45-47; *RE2* VII (13) 385-387 under "Triumphbogen: Rom" nos. 22, 23. The two parts of the *Real-Enc. der class. Alt-Wiss.* will be cited as *RE* and *RE2*. Whole volume numbers will be given in Roman numerals with the half volume numbers in Arabic numerals in parentheses.

<sup>39</sup> For the *Rostra ad divi Iulii*, or *Rostra nova*, Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 287; Lugli, *RomaAnt* 199 and *MonMin* 61-64. O. Richter's reconstruction, *JDAI* 4 (1889) 141, shows steps running up either side of the platform from the front. If this is correct, the sloping approach on which the figures attending on the speaker stand on the alimentary relief cannot be meant to represent these steps except by a very "short-hand" reversal of direction. If, as Richter thought, *JDAI* 13 (1898) 111-112 (compare above n. 32), the front of the platform before the Temple of Castor had *rostra* on it, it would be ingenious, though perhaps not convincing, to see here an awkward attempt to show the platform before the temple. The sloping steps would be approached from the Arch of Augustus and in order to face the speaker towards his audience, the front, with the *rostra*, would be broken and turned sideways and the façade of the temple pushed into the background with its steps starting at the level of the platform. But certainty as to the precise platform intended cannot be achieved; suffice it that it is, on the "continuous" interpretation, represented as in the east, or south-east, part of the Forum.

If the background of the scenes is continuous, support is given to the suggestion made already that the reliefs were meant to be seen both at once, with the eye carried from one to another, probably across an intervening opening, by the repetition of the fig-tree and statue of Marsyas. The scenes themselves should therefore have a very close connection, either as parts of the same general action or as involving the same chief personage or as two acts of similar import performed by different personages. Since the conditions under which the anaglyphs have been preserved do not permit us to determine their original purpose and location, since criteria of style do not serve to date them except within a considerable margin of time, and since the features of the chief actors are too damaged to be recognized, it becomes necessary to examine in more detail the actions themselves.

The *Life* of Hadrian in the *Augustan History* says that after the execution of the four generals of consular rank Hadrian sought to counteract any unfavorable rumors by various acts of generosity towards the senate and people.<sup>40</sup> He distributed a large *congiarium*, or gift of money, to the people and promised to respect senators' right of trial by their peers and relieved magistrates of the local towns from the costs of the official postal service. He then remitted to private debtors in Rome and Italy the great amounts due to the imperial treasury, the *fiscus*, and in the provinces also very large sums in arrears, and he burnt the records in the Forum of the deified Trajan, in order that a sense of security might be strengthened for everybody. He forbade the property of condemned persons to be confiscated for his personal treasury. He added an increase of generosity, *liberalitas*, for the boys and girls to whom Trajan also had given support, *alimenta*. And the *Life* continues with several other measures for the relief of public distress.

Among the actions described in this passage from the *Life*, that which most clearly bears on the anaglyphs is the remission of unpaid taxes and the burning of records. The evidence for any similar act by Trajan is so slight as not to justify the connection of the debt relief with him, unless it be argued that the paucity of sources for his reign has obscured some important remis-

<sup>40</sup> SHA *Hadr.* 7; the summary in the text is based on the translation and notes in the *Loeb Classical Library* ed. by D. Magie, I 23, 25. The significant sentence, § 6, runs as follows in the Teubner ed. by E. Hohl, I 9: *ad colligendam autem gratiam nihil praetermittens infinitam pecuniam, quae fisco debebatur, privatis debitoribus in urbe atque Italia, in provinciis vero etiam ex reliquis ingentes summas remisit syngrafis in foro divi Traiani, quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur, incensis.* The mss. show some uncertainty about the reading *Traiani* but not enough to assume an error about the locale, in view of the inscription discussed below.

sion.<sup>41</sup> Dio Cassius confirms Hadrian's remission of taxes due both to the imperial treasury and to that of the Roman people, apparently with the provision that this remission should be valid for any claims by the state for taxes unpaid before the date of his remission which might be brought up in the next fifteen or sixteen years.<sup>42</sup> The remission is further confirmed by an inscription from the Forum of Trajan dated in Hadrian's second year of tribunician power and in his second consulship, that is in 118 A.D.<sup>43</sup> It states that first and alone of all emperors, by remitting nine hundred million sesterces due to the imperial treasuries, he made not only his fellow citizens in his own day but also their descendants secure by this liberality. The phrase *primus omnium principum et solus* clearly militates against any previous significant remission by Trajan. The plural *fiscis* perhaps refers to remissions not only in Rome but in the provinces, as stated in the *Life*. And the words *hac liberalitate securos* recalls the *Life's*: *quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur*. Finally the finding of the inscription in the Forum of Trajan agrees with the statement in the *Life*: *syngraφis in foro divi Traiani . . . incensis*.

<sup>41</sup> For evidence of minor remissions of taxes by Trajan, see Seston, *Mémoires* 44 (1927) 158-164; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* (ed. 3) II; 2 1015 n. 3. For the poor sources for Trajan's reign, above n. 6 at the end.

<sup>42</sup> Dio 69. 8.1 (2), dated in Boissvain's ed., III 229, in 118: ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφῆκε τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τῷ τε βασιλικῷ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐκκαίδεκαετῇ ὀρίσας χρόνον ἀφ' οὗ τε καὶ μέχρις οὗ τηρηθῆσεσθαι τοῦτ' ἐμελλεν. The meaning of the phrase "defining a period of sixteen years from which and until which this was to be preserved" is not clear. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* (ed. 3) II, 2 1015, thought that Hadrian provided for a fifteen year revision of tax records, which would mean that Dio's "sixteen year period" is inclusive. In 178 A. D., according to Dio 71 (72). 32.2, Marcus made a remission of taxes due the fiscus and the aerarium for a period of forty-six years in addition to the sixteen of Hadrian; see Mommsen's n. 4 for other sources. If both figures are inclusive, a total of sixty years (rather than sixty-two) is reached, that is, the whole period from 118 to 178 A. D. The normal interpretation of the sixteen year period would be for sixteen years previously, but there is no reason apparent why Hadrian should have selected 92 or 93 A. D. to begin with (unless some unknown adjustment had taken place then) and also no reason for the rather complicated phrase "from which and until which this was to be kept in force," which seems to look to the future. The phrase used by Dio for Marcus, "forgave all due from, ἀπό, forty-six years," seems more natural for a past period. The interpretation in the text is therefore based on the assumption that Hadrian's remission looked forward to possible suits in the next fifteen or sixteen years and Marcus' back to claims unpaid since the expiry of this period. See further E. Carey's n. in the *Loeb Classical Library* ed. VIII 438-439; B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* (London, Methuen, 1923) 60-62; T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome V, Rome and Italy of the Empire* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1940) 70-71, where the problem of the sixteen years is not discussed.

<sup>43</sup> *CIL* VI. i. 967 = Dessau, *ILS* 309. The full text is known only from the Einsiedeln codex; the inscription is said to have been seen in the Forum of Trajan, where a fragment was found in 1812. The portion paraphrased reads: *qui primus omnium principum et | solus, remittendo sester-  
tium novies | milies centena milia n(ummum) debitum fisci, | non praesentes tantum cives suos sed | et  
posteror eorum praestitit hac | liberalitate securos*.



Scene from the debt relief showing a lictor setting a torch to a pile of tax records.

Sestertii of Hadrian issued in the years 119/121 A.D. confirm the sum given on the inscription by their reverse legend: *reliqua vetera HS novies mill. abolita*.<sup>44</sup> Opportunely one of the reverse types show a lictor standing alone, facing to the observer's left, and holding in his right hand, that is to the observer's left, a torch or brand with which he sets fire to a heap of records lying on the ground to his right (observer's left). In his left hand (observer's right) he holds his bundle of rods over his shoulder. Apart from the fact that



Sestertius of Hadrian, 119/121 A. D.  
Reverse of a lictor setting fire to tax  
records.

Sestertius of Hadrian, 119/121 A. D.  
Reverse of a lictor setting fire to tax  
records in the presence of three citizens.

on the coin the lictor stands upright, his pose and action resemble so closely that on the debt relief that they must refer to the same event.<sup>45</sup> On two

<sup>44</sup> For the sestertii of Hadrian which commemorate the abolition of unpaid debts, see *BMC* III 417-418 nos. 1206-1210. On p. 413, they are dated 119-120 or 121 A.D., see also p. clxv. That with the lictor alone, plate 79 no. 4 (no. 1206), has *S.C.* in the field, those with citizens have *S.C.* in the exergue. Three citizens are to the observer's left in pl. 79 no. 5 (no. 1207) and two to the right in pl. 79 no. 6 (no. 1210).

<sup>45</sup> Seston, *MélRome* 44 (1927) 163-164, speaks of the lictor on the debt relief as "embarrassé par le faisceau qu'il n'a pas voulu abandonner" and calls attention to the traces of the attachment for the *fascēs* on the left shoulder of the lictor and to its top attached to the background above his left shoulder, to the observer's right of the head of the figure behind him. While I am persuaded that the identification of this figure as a lictor is correct, it should be noted that he has a much more elaborate shoe (only his right foot is preserved) than do the lictors behind the speaker on the alimentary relief. The four central of the six figures in the latter group are identified as

other types, the lictor acts in the presence of citizens. On one, three stand to the left (his right), and on the other the whole action is reversed to the right (his left) and only two citizens are shown. The description of the coins does not indicate the costume of the spectators, but the plates show togas on some and perhaps cloaks on others. On the relief, two figures in mantles, *paenuli*, stand behind the lictor and one in a toga between him and the platform. The figure on the platform is lost save for his legs and knees, but it is natural to assume that the emperor Hadrian himself was shown supervising the proceedings.

Another version of the scene appears to be represented on a relief now in Chatsworth House, in England.<sup>46</sup> This relief shows a praetorian in undress uniform with a short, Hadrianic beard, carrying a box of records on his shoulder, in front of a building of which the lower part of a column and some steps alone are preserved. Behind him comes a second bearded lictor with a pile of records. Then there are three figures whose heads are lost. The two to the left are clearly praetorians; the one in the center may be an official of the treasury since he wears a mantle opening down the front, or *paenulus*. On the debt relief a file of praetorians carry up bundles of records and throw them on the heap to which the lictor is putting the torch. The man in the background between the last praetorian and the lictor closely resembles the presumed treasury official of the Chatsworth relief. Both stand facing front, with their right arms bent across their bodies, their right feet slightly advanced, and their heads turned to the observer's left (their own right). The figure on the debt relief clearly wears the *paenulus* but it does not seem to be thrown up on his shoulders as much as in the Chatsworth relief. The latter relief is dated under Hadrian because of the beards and because of the style, in which the figures are more

lictors by the rods on their left shoulders. The right figure, in the background immediately behind the speaker, may be togate. The left figure has the same fringed cloak as do the two foremost of the lictors but there is no trace of a rod over his left shoulder, where it regularly is carried; see the plates throughout A. M. Colini, *Il Fascio Littorio* (Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1932). On p. 143, Colini identifies all six figures in this group as lictors, but, as indicated, the two at either end are not securely such. For the costume of lictors, including the fringed cloak, see pp. 24-26. On p. 24, Colini says that the lictor is always costumed in the same fashion as the magistrate whom he accompanies; this is not true of either of the anaglyphs, where the figures on the platforms are togate and the lictors have the "camp undress." On p. 26, Colini says that the shoes of the lictor often had their tops turned down the front; perhaps the importance of the figure in the debt relief led to his being given more elaborate shoes of this sort instead of the simpler type worn by the lictors of the alimentary relief. It is not clear whether the lictor on the debt relief had a fringed cloak since the edges of his garment are damaged. His rods would have been cut free from the background for quite a space if they ran from his shoulder to the remaining top, but the rods of the foremost lictor of the group in the alimentary relief were also cut free for some distance.

<sup>46</sup> For the Chatsworth relief, see Strong, *Rom. Sculp* 235-236 and pl. LXX. Miss Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* 244 in appendix II no. vii, gives both Petersen and Sieveking with Mrs. Strong in favor of a Hadrianic date.

widely spaced and less deeply cut and arranged in single plane. That the same event (granted it is the same) should be represented in two such different styles as those of the anaglyph and the Chatsworth relief supports the argument advanced earlier that styles cannot be assumed necessarily to be successive; an overlap is always possible and in this case elements of what is called "Hadrianic" style go back at least to the new Domitianic reliefs.

In default of any evidence for a major remission of unpaid taxes during the early second century other than that by Hadrian, and in view of the emphasis laid upon this remission in the literary authors, it seems almost inevitable to refer the debt relief, supported by the *Augustan History*, the coins, and the inscription, to Hadrian's great act.<sup>47</sup> The one difficulty with this conclusion is that the *Life* and the inscription definitely locate the burning of the records in the Forum of Trajan whereas the anaglyph equally clearly places it in the Forum Romanum. Seston explained this on the ground that the sculptor of the anaglyph wished to connect the security produced by Hadrian's act, which he regards as an aspect of "liberty," with the ancient symbol of liberty, the statue of Marsyas in the Forum.<sup>48</sup> Possibly records were actually burned in more than one place; those affecting the *fiscus* in Trajan's Forum and those affecting the senate's treasury, the *aerarium Saturni*, in the Forum Romanum near the Temple of Saturn, as shown on the anaglyph.<sup>49</sup> Or the artist himself may have changed the locale to bring his two scenes more closely into relation to one another. This discrepancy, whatever its reason, constitutes the only difficulty in the otherwise almost inescapable identification of the debt scene with Hadrian's great act of remitting taxes and burning the records. And in default of evidence for some other such act localized in the Forum Romanum, this identification must remain the only satisfactory one.

<sup>47</sup> As indicated above in nn. 41, 42, the evidence for a remission of unpaid taxes by Trajan is scanty and the next known instance after Hadrian's is that of Marcus in 178 A. D., where Dio's phraseology implies that no important case had occurred in the intervening period.

<sup>48</sup> Seston, *MélRome* 44 (1927) 166-170, discusses the problem of the locale and the relation of *securitas* and *libertas*, which is connected on coins of Galba and Vespasian with relief from financial burdens. As early as Gaius, a cap of liberty on the obverse of coins of 40 A.D. is connected with the abolition of the one half percent tax for the support of the military treasury, which is mentioned on the reverse; see C.H.V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* (London, Methuen, 1951) 120, where Sutherland disagrees in n. 1 with Mattingly's interpretation, *BMC* I cxlvii, of the cap of liberty as referring to the abortive restoration of popular elections by Gaius. For Claudius and *libertas*, see Sutherland p. 133.

<sup>49</sup> Dio, above n. 42, refers to taxes due both to the *fiscus* and to the *aerarium*. The praetorians are clearly identified in both reliefs by their undress uniform, see M. Durry, *Les Cohortes Prétoriennes* (*Bibl. des Ec. franç.* CXLVI, Paris, de Boccard, 1939) 208-209. Their use for such work, particularly if senatorial records were being burnt, seems at first sight strange, but they appear to have been called on for various non-military tasks, see Durry, pp. 274-286.

The alimentary scene seems at first sight to be equally clearly identified with Trajan.<sup>50</sup> It is, indeed, commonly accepted that the first institution of public funds for the support of children was by Nerva. A late summary of the history of the Empire, the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, states that Nerva ordered that girls and boys born of needy parents be supported at public expense in the towns of Italy.<sup>51</sup> Confirmation of this statement was for long found in a bronze coin, probably a sestertius, which bears on its obverse a bust and legend of Nerva and on its reverse a togate figure seated on a curule chair, facing left and holding out his hand to a woman. Between the two figures stand a boy and a girl. The reverse legend reads: *Tutela Italiae S. C.* However, this coin is now regarded as spurious.<sup>52</sup>

Further support for Nerva's initiative has been found in a passage in which Ulpian states that cities, *civitates*, under the rule of the Roman people could receive legacies according to a provision first laid down by Nerva and later strengthened by the senate on the initiative of Hadrian.<sup>53</sup> This rule seems, however, to have been of general application and the other lawyers who discuss the capacity of cities to receive legacies simply include alimentary funds among other similar bequests for the common good and do not suggest that such funds enjoyed any special status such as the rule of Nerva might have been expected to establish.<sup>54</sup> Even if Nerva had *alimenta* in mind, his interest might well have been rather in the establishment of such funds by private initiative than in any publicly supported program, which, of course, would not

<sup>50</sup> For the *alimenta*, see Kubitschek in *RE* I (2) 1484-1489; E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico d'Antichità Romane* I 402-411 (hereafter abbreviated to *DE*); Frank, *Ec. Survey* V 65-67.

<sup>51</sup> *Ep. de Caes.* 12.4: *puellas puerosque natos parentibus egestosis sumptu publico per Italiae oppida ali iussit.* The inversion *puellas puerosque* is curious. This work, included with Sextus Aurelius Victor's *Liber de Caesaribus*, purports to be an abbreviation of that abbreviation; see the respective headings in F. Pichlmayr's Teubner ed. pp. 77, 133. The *Liber*, §§ 12-13, does not mention the *alimenta* under either Nerva or Trajan so that the *Epitome* must have derived them from some other source.

<sup>52</sup> The reverse of the presumed alimentary sestertius of Nerva is described without number in *BMC* III 21 from the description of H. Cohen, *Description historique des Monnaies... appelées Médailles Impériales* II (Paris, Rollin & Feuardent, ed. 2 by Feuardent, 1882) 12-13 no. 142. This work will hereafter be abbreviated as Cohen. A. Merlin, *Les Revers Monétaires de l'Emp. Nerva* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906) 81-84, accepted the coin, but he later rejected it in an article, "Le Grand Bronze de Nerva, Tutela Italiae", *RevNum* (4ième sér.) 10 (1906) 298-301, see also *BMC* III xlix, 21 note 5.

<sup>53</sup> Ulpian, *Regulae frag.* 24.28, see Huschke's Teubner ed. 6 (by Seckel & Kübler) I 481: *civitatibus omnibus, quae sub imperio populi Romani sunt, legari potest; idque a divo Nerva introductum, postea a senatu auctore Hadriano diligentius constitutum est.* The editors wonder whether *divo* should be added before *Hadriano*.

<sup>54</sup> Marcianus, *Dig.* 30-117, confirms the capacity of cities to inherit and Paul, *Dig.* 30.122 pr., lists *alimenta* among the various purposes for which bequests might be accepted by cities.

have affected the capacity of cities to receive legacies.<sup>55</sup> Support for Nerva's creation of the *alimenta* cannot, therefore, be drawn from Ulpian's statement.

Mommsen also adduced a phrase in one of Pliny's early letters to Trajan to show that Nerva initiated the *alimenta*.<sup>56</sup> Pliny says that Trajan's deified parent, namely Nerva, exhorted all citizens in a fine speech and by a very proper example to munificence. Pliny goes on to say that in consequence he asked Nerva's permission to present to his native city of Comum a series of imperial statues which he had inherited, with the addition of one of Nerva himself. Pliny had been prevented from completing the project under Nerva and now asked Trajan's permission to take leave from his public duties, to go to Comum, to finish the temple at his own expense, and to add a statue of Trajan. There is no mention here of *alimenta*, with which, as will be shown, Pliny was much concerned. Nerva's oration was probably a general exhortation towards private liberality and perhaps illustrates his rule that cities could receive legacies. Even if Nerva had *alimenta* in mind in this speech, as in the rule, he would have been thinking of private gifts, not of a public institution.

Since none of these passages refers specifically to public *alimenta* and since the coin seems to be spurious, the *Epitome* remains the only source for the initiative of Nerva in establishing *alimenta*. Had Nerva taken this step, it is hardly likely, even with the poverty of our sources, that he would have been so completely overshadowed by Trajan in this respect. It may well be, therefore, that the compiler of the *Epitome*, or even his source, confused *Imp. Caesar Nerva Traianus Aug.* with his predecessor and adoptive father *Imp. Caesar Nerva Aug.*<sup>57</sup> Such a confusion may have been helped by an act for the relief of the poor attributed by Dio to Nerva. Dio says that Nerva purchased and distributed to the poor of Rome a very considerable quantity of land.<sup>58</sup> It may be in connection with this that he passed a *lex agraria*

<sup>55</sup> Kubitschek, *RE* I (2) 1489, connects Nerva's rule with private *alimenta*.

<sup>56</sup> T. Mommsen, "Zur Lebensgeschichte der j. Plinius," *Gesammelte Schriften* IV (*Hist. Schr.* I) 436 n. 1. This will hereafter be abbreviated as "Plinius," *GS* IV. The passage is Pliny, *Ep.* 10 (*ad Trai.*). 8: *cum divus pater tuus, domine, et oratione pulcherrima et honestissimo exemplo omnes cives ad munificentiam esset cohortatus etc.*

<sup>57</sup> For the very similar imperial formulas of Nerva and Trajan see index III of Dessau, *ILS* III. 1 pp. 273-274.

<sup>58</sup> Dio, 68. 2.1; the distribution is mentioned by Pliny, *Ep.* 7. 31. 4: *a Corellio nostro ex liberalitate imperatoris Nervae emendis dividendisque agris adiutor adsumptus*, which agrees with Dio's statement that senators were appointed to buy and distribute the land. See also *CIL* VI 1548 = Dessau, *ILS* 1019. The measure recalls the activities of the Gracchi. Callistratus, *Dig.* 47.21. 3.1, speaks in connection with moving boundary marks of *alia quoque lege agraria, quam divus Nerva tulit* and the phrase has been taken to indicate not an edict but an antiquarian revival of comitial legislation, e. g. by H. F. Jolowicz, *A Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (Cambridge, Camb. Univ. Press, 1932) 333 n. 5.

mentioned in the *Digest*, the last "law" known to us. Both actions, popular legislation and relief of poverty by resettlement on the land, would have been part of the "republican" reaction against Domitian's tyranny. Since the *alimenta* of Trajan were supported by loans to farmers on the security of their property, some confusion between Nerva's and Trajan's acts may have arisen. In any case, the bulk of surviving evidence attributes the *alimenta* to Trajan and the great importance attached to his act strongly suggests that he was its inventor and not merely an imitator of Nerva.

That Trajan, not Nerva, first established the *alimenta* is also suggested by the general development of the institution. There is only one sure instance of the establishment of a fund for the support of poor children before the opening of the second century. A certain T. Helvius Basila is known from an inscription to have bequeathed money for this purpose to the town of Atina in Latium.<sup>59</sup> The date of this inscription has been placed anywhere between Augustus and Nero, but is probably nearer Nero, and almost certainly not later.

<sup>59</sup> *CIL* X 5056 = Dessau, *ILS* 977. Helvius' gift was to provide grain for the male children of Atina until they came of age, when each was to receive a gift of a thousand sesterii. Procula also erected another inscription in memory of Helvius, *CIL* X 5057. Helvius' career is given as *aed.*, *pr.*, *procos.*, *legato Caesaris Augus[t]*. Kubitschek, *RE* I (2) 1485 (publ. in 1894), took the last phrase to apply to Augustus. Dessau, n. 1 on no. 977 (publ. in 1892), gives examples of *Caesar Aug.* for both Claudius and Nero and prefers a date under Nero because Procula's husband died in 69 A. D. M. Rostovtsew (thus), "Inscriptions des Antes du Sebasteion d'Ancyre," *Mélanges Boissier* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1903) 418-424, showed that a long series of entries on the antae of the Temple of Augustus at Ancyra referred to the celebration of quinquennial games and that each entry was headed by the last name of a governor of Galatia, who was at this time an imperial legate of praetorian rank, see Vaglieri in *DE* III 362 under Galatia. The first governor's name is lost but the second through the fifth are Metellus, Fronto, Silvanus, and Basila. Under Metellus, statues were dedicated to "Caesar... and Julia Augusta," that is, to Tiberius and to Livia, who became a Julia by the will of Augustus in 14 A.D. Other individuals mentioned in the inscription belong in the Julio-Claudian period, see the notes of Boeckh and Franz in *CIGr* III p. 88 on no. 4039. Cagnat gives only the heading and the entry under Metellus in *IGRR* III 157. If the statues were dedicated after Augustus' death, in about 15 A.D., the five celebrations would have fallen in 10, 15, 20, 25, and 30 A.D. and Basila would have been governor in the last of these years. Rostovtzeff, p. 422, identified this Basila with T. Helvius Basila and this identification has been generally accepted, e.g. by Kadlec in *RE* VIII (15) 225 under Helvius 9 and by Vaglieri in *DE* III 362. Tiberius is indeed, occasionally denominated *Caesar Augustus* but only in some early inscriptions, e.g. in Dessau, *ILS* 151, 152, milestones from Africa of 14 A.D., and never, apparently on coins, *BMC* I 120-145. Moreover, as Dessau noted, 30 A.D. seems an early date for Helvius' governorship if his daughter's husband was still only a praetorian legionary legate in 69 A.D.; certainly his daughter would hardly have been old enough in 30 A.D. to commemorate him. It does not seem likely that he withdrew early from a public career, had his family, and died after a lengthy period of retirement. Perhaps the dedication of the statues of Tiberius and Livia (Julia) did not occur as early as 15 A.D. and all the dates should be moved down by a decade or so. It might be remarked that Helvius' bequest indicates a capacity of cities to receive such legacies long before the rule of Nerva mentioned by Ulpian, above n. 53.

Helvius' daughter Procula, who commemorated her father's generosity, also set up an inscription in honor of her husband C. Dillius Vocula.<sup>60</sup> He is well known from Tacitus to have been the praetorian legate of the Twenty-Second Legion Primigenia in Germany during the Gallic revolt of 69 A.D. and to have been deserted by his troops and put to death by the Gallic leader Classicus. The career of Helvius presumably antedated that of Vocula, and since he advanced no further than a senatorial proconsulship and an imperial legateship following on the praetorship, it is likely that he died at this stage. But it is of course impossible to determine how long before 69 A.D. his death occurred.

Since inscriptions are relatively rare for the first as compared to the second century, the fact that only this one instance of private *alimenta* is known before the reign of Trajan as compared to a considerable number during the second century should not be overemphasized; other similar endowments presumably existed.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, the next known private gift for this purpose was made by Pliny the Younger to his native city of Comum.<sup>62</sup> Pliny first broaches the project in the eighth letter of his first book, which was not published earlier than 97 A.D. Full details of the fund, by then in operation, are given in the eighteenth letter of the seventh book, probably published in 107 A.D. The gift is also mentioned among other benefactions in the commemorative inscription erected by a grateful Comum to Pliny. It would be pleasant to think that Trajan derived the inspiration for his public fund from his loyal subordinate, Pliny. Certainly Trajan, provincial in origin and soldier by trade, would have been less familiar with the problems of Italian agriculture and the needs of the Italian poor than was Pliny, himself a north Italian and nephew of a close associate of the Italian Vespasian, who did so much to restore prosperity after the extravagances of the Julio-Claudians and the devastation of the Civil War.

<sup>60</sup> *CIL* VI. 1. 1402 = Dessau, *ILS* 983 describes C. Dillius Vocula as *trib. milit. leg. I, IIIIviro viarum curandar., q. provinc. Ponti et Bith[yn]iae, trib. pl., pr., leg. in Germania leg. XXII Primigeniae*. For his death in 69 A.D., see Tac., *Hist.* 4.59.

<sup>61</sup> For privately endowed *alimenta* in the second century, see *RE* I (2) 1488-1489; *DE* I 408-410. De Ruggiero, *DE* I 408, does not think that the example of Helvius proves that private precedents inspired the public *alimenta*. Since he accepts Nerva's initiative, he would regard Pliny and the later benefactors as influenced by the imperial example. Certainly, as noted above, Pliny, *Ep.* 10.8, refers to the encouragement and example given by Nerva to private munificence in general.

<sup>62</sup> The dates given for the publication of Pliny's bks. I and VII are those of Mommsen, "Plinius," *GS* IV 371-372, 385-386. These dates have been disputed and the first book brought down to anywhere from 100 to 104 A.D., see M. Schanz and C. Hosius, *Geschichte der röm. Lit.* (Abt. VIII of Müller & Otto, *Handbuch der Alt.-wiss.*) II (Munich, Beck'sche VBH, ed. 4 1935) 665. Mommsen, pp. 435-436, accepted Nerva's institution of the *alimenta* (see p. 436 n. 1) and, like de Ruggiero, thought that Pliny was influenced by it. The inscription in honor of Pliny is *CIL* V 5262 = Dessau, *ILS* 2927; see also M. Schuster's Teubner ed. of Pliny's *Letters* 466.

However, in an age in which both the state and private individuals were becoming more acutely conscious than before of the need for charity, it is impossible to determine which took the priority. Certainly the example set by Pliny and Trajan was widely followed both by individuals and by the emperors during the second century.

Trajan apparently did not begin the program of *alimenta* in a general fashion but with specific provision for the poor children of Rome and only at a second stage with provision for those elsewhere in Italy. On Sept. 1, 100 A.D., Pliny the Younger, as one of the two suffect consuls who then entered office, delivered in the senate a speech of thanks to the emperor for this honor on behalf of himself and his colleague.<sup>63</sup> He later revised and published this *Panegyric*, but probably made no material additions of fact. He praises Trajan for generous gifts of money, *congiaria*, and free distributions of grain, *frumentationes*, to the people of Rome. He states that the emperor had added nearly five thousand persons to the registers of recipients of such largess and that this generosity has encouraged more parents to raise children to be future members of the Roman camps and of the tribes into which the voting citizens were divided. It is therefore likely that the five thousand were children of citizens, future soldiers and citizens themselves. Thus the first step in Trajan's program would seem to have been not the creation of special funds for the support of children but the addition of children at Rome to the existing registers of poor citizens, already numbering two hundred thousand or more, who received not only the special largess of money or grain but also the regular monthly dole of free grain.<sup>64</sup>

The second stage was provision for poor children in the cities of Italy outside of Rome. For these, instead of direct state aid, a method modeled on private benefactions was devised. Private endowments for charitable or other purposes generally took the form of gifts or bequests of land, which was the chief form of long-term investment in the ancient world. Income from the

<sup>63</sup> Pliny's *Panegyric* has been well edited with introduction and notes by M. Durry, *Plinie le Jeune: Panegyrique de Trajan* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1938). For its date, see p. 3; for its preservation as the first of a collection of panegyrics made in the fourth century, pp. 73-75; for the view that nothing substantial was added in revision, pp. 9-15.

<sup>64</sup> For children as recipients of this bounty, see Kubitschek in *RE* I (2) 1485 and Rostovtzeff in *RE* VII (13) 179-180 under *frumentationes*. That this was the first step in Trajan's program is suggested by the fact that he returned to Rome only in the spring or summer of 99 A.D., R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps* I 142. Durry, *PliniePan* appendix III, pp. 235-236, discusses the various measures for the relief of the poor of Rome and distinguishes sharply between the *frumentationes* received by the 200,000 citizens, and the later *alimenta*. He thinks that Pliny was purposely vague about the *alimenta* because the program was not ready for public announcement.

land provided the annual revenue for the endowment.<sup>65</sup> Trajan did not, however, set aside part of the by then extensive imperial estates for this purpose.<sup>66</sup> He sought to combine another aim with his charity, that of helping Italian agriculture, which was apparently finding itself in economic difficulties. He provided that funds from the imperial treasury, the *fiscus*, should be loaned to small farmers throughout Italy and that the interest on the loans should be paid in perpetuity to the cities near which the farms lay for the support of poor children.<sup>67</sup>

The institution of these *alimenta* is known from two inscriptions which list the loans to specific farmers and prescribe the use of the interest for the support of children. One inscription, from the territory of the Ligures Baebiani near Beneventum, is dated in Trajan's fourth consulship, which he shared with Q. Articuleius Paetus in 101 A.D.<sup>68</sup> The other, from Veleia in Cisalpine Gaul, has no dated heading but in its opening paragraph it gives Trajan the title *Dacicus*, which he assumed only in 102 A.D.<sup>69</sup> However, the later chapters of this inscription refer back to arrangements made previously by Cornelius Gallicanus and Pomponius Bassus. In these chapters, Trajan does not bear the title *Dacicus*. Furthermore, the city of Ferentinum erected an inscription in honor of Bassus.<sup>70</sup> In this it asks him to be its patron because of its gratitude

<sup>65</sup> For capital investment in land, see F. M. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums usw.* (Leiden, Sijthoff, 1938) I 744 and II 1171-1173, with ample bibliography; G. Salvioli, *Il Capitalismo Antico etc.* (Bari, Laterza, 1929) 42-46, ch. III: "La proprietà immobiliare;" *DE* I 409 for the alimentary endowments.

<sup>66</sup> For the relation of the *alimenta* to the imperial estates, whether property of the emperor personally or of the state but under his charge, see O. Hirschfeld, *Die kais. Verwaltungsbeamten usw.* (Berlin, Weidmann, ed. 2 1905) 9 n. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Though Trajan's method of handling the *alimenta* suggests that Italian agriculture was in economic difficulties, considerations of birth-rate and poor relief seem to have been the main motives, F. Oertel, *CAH* XII (1939) 252. However, both Trajan and Marcus sought to combine improving land values in Italy with binding senators more closely to Italy by requiring them to invest a considerable part of their capital in Italian land, Pliny, *Ep.* 6.19; *SHA Marc.* 11. 8. Decline of population and its contribution to the fall of the empire were the topic of Prof. A.E.R. Boak's *Jerome Lectures* for 1951 at the American Academy in Rome and the University of Michigan, to be published by the University of Michigan Press.

<sup>68</sup> *CIL* IX 1455 = Dessau, *ILS* 6509. Forty thousand Ligurians had been moved to Beneventan territory in 180 B.C. by the consuls of 181, Cornelius and Baebius, Livy 40. 38. 3-7. For the consuls of 101 A.D., see W. Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani* (H. Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte usw.* 41-43, Bonn, Marcus & Weber, 1909) 18.

<sup>69</sup> *CIL* XI 1147 = Dessau, *ILS* 6675. For the chronology of Trajan's titles, see Liebenam, *Fasti* 107; *BMC* III lii-liii. Gallicanus appears in par. XIII and the past tense, *obligavit*, is used of his arrangements. So in par. XVI, he and Bassus are said *antea...obligaverunt*. The end of par. XLI shows Trajan only as *Germanicus*, see Dessau's n. 24.

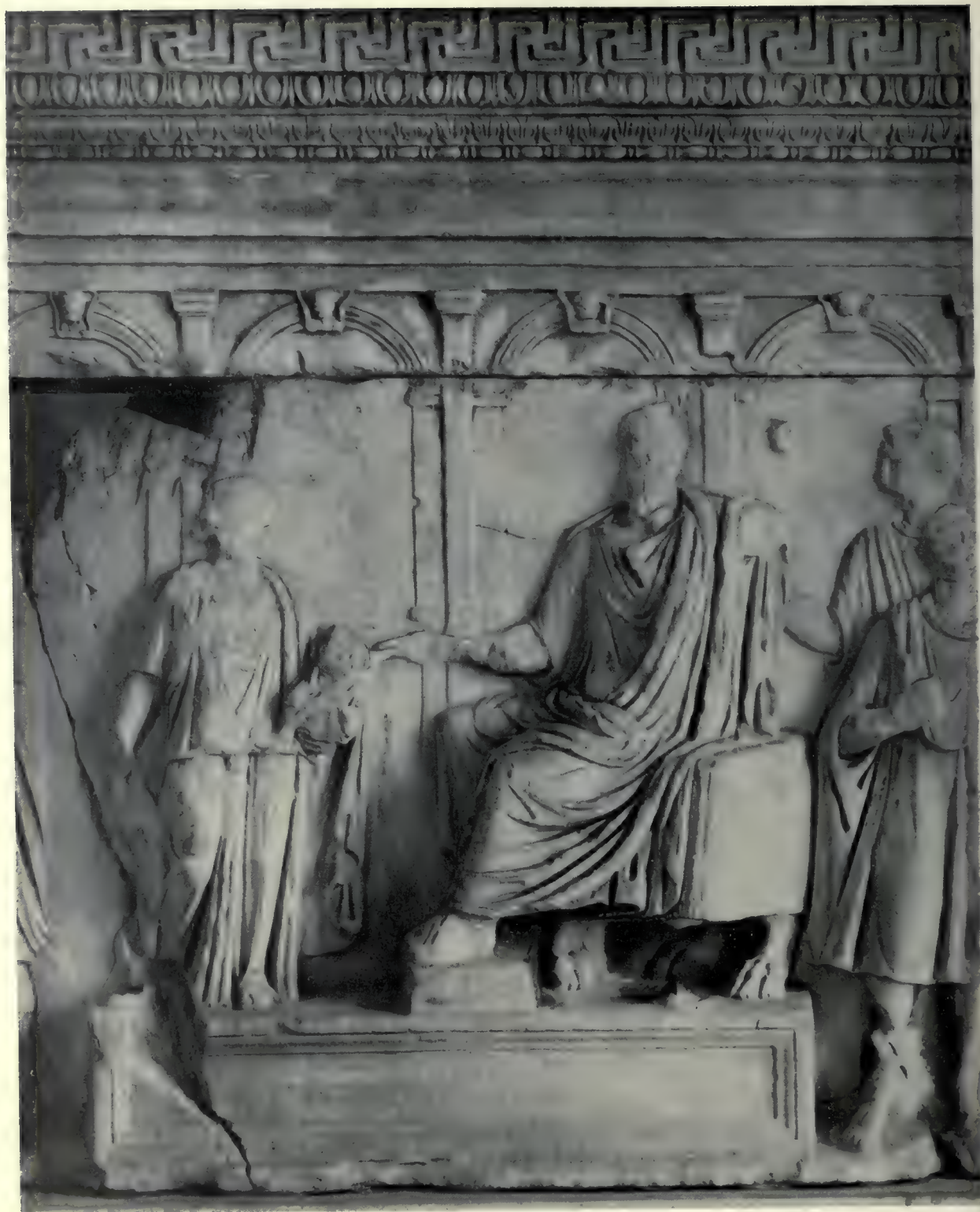
<sup>70</sup> *CIL* VI 1492 = Dessau, *ILS* 6106: *demandatam sibi curam ab | indulgentissimo imp. Caesare Nerva Traiano | Augusto Germanico, qua aeternitati Italiae | suae prospexit etc.*; see Dessau's n. 5.

to him for his accomplishment of a mission with which Trajan entrusted him to promote the "eternity" of Italy. There is no reason to question that this mission was the institution of the *alimenta*. The inscription is dated on Oct. 19, *xiii k. Nov.*, in the consulship of L. Arruntius Stella and L. Julius Marinus. These men can hardly have been suffect consuls earlier than 101 A.D. or after 102. Since another pair apparently held office in 102 from Sept. 1 through Nov. 19, Arruntius and Julius must be dated in the fall of 101.<sup>71</sup> These various inscriptions therefore fix the institution of the *alimenta* for Italy in 101 A.D.

Such a date agrees better than would 102 A.D. with the account in the summary of Dio Cassius made by Xiphilinus.<sup>72</sup> This says that Trajan on his arrival in Rome, among other worthy actions, granted much to the cities of Italy for the nurture of children. Dio does not allude either here or in his account of Nerva's reign to any similar institution of *alimenta* by that emperor. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude from the lack of private *alimenta* before the second century, and from the example and statements of Pliny and the brief summary in Dio, that Trajan, not Nerva, first established *alimenta* and that he did so in two successive stages, the enrolling of poor children among the recipients of free grain at Rome in 99/100 A.D. and the setting up of loans to farmers throughout Italy in 101 A.D.

<sup>71</sup> Scholars differ as to the year of the consulship of Arruntius and Julius. For the former, see von Rhoden in *RE* II (3) 1265 under Arruntius 26 (101 A.D.); Groag in *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (hereafter *PIR*) (ed. 2) I 227-228 A 1151 (102). For the latter, see Groag in *RE* X (19) 671 (102). Dessau in *PIR* (ed. 1) II 200 I 274 (101 or 102). Martial celebrated the consulship of Arruntius in a poem sent from Spain, XII 3. Though the date of publication of Martial's twelfth book depends in part on that of Arruntius' consulship, it also seems fixed for other reasons to 101 or 102 A.D., see L. Friedländer's ed. I 65-67. Thus the consulship is limited to these years. The *Fasti* of Ostia, *Inscr. Italiae* XIII. 1 p. 195, show no consuls for 101 A.D. In 102, frag. XV line 5 preserves only part of a letter which Degraffi reads as *S* so that he restores the line to read [*L. Antonius Albus, M. Iunius*] [*Homullus*]. These men are the consuls of a diploma, *CIL* XVI 47, dated Nov. 19, *a. d. xiii k. Decembr.*, and in which Trajan's titles are those of 102 A.D., see M. Hammond, "The Tribunician Day. . . Reexamined," *MAAR* 19 (1949) 50. Degraffi, XIII. I p. 225, n. on line 4, justifies restoring them in the *Fasti* Ost. because in 105 and 109 A.D. the consuls for the last four months of the year entered office on Sept. 1. This would exclude Arruntius and Julius from October, 102. Degraffi's indices, pp. 643 and 646, give no evidence for them aside from the inscription of Bassus, see also Liebenam, *Fasti* 16 under 101 A.D., citing Mommsen, "Plinius," *GS* IV 455-458. In default of more exact evidence, 101 A.D. seems the only possible year for them.

<sup>72</sup> Dio 68. 5. 4. The chapter opens with the execution of the praetorians who had rioted against Nerva. It then says that Trajan, on entering Rome, did much to correct public affairs and to help the worthy, and continues: *ὥς καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν παίδων τροφὴν πολλὰ χάρισασθαι, καὶ τούτους ἐνεργετῶν*. The account goes on to his first entrance into the palace and then to his departure for the Dacian war of 101 A.D.



The group from the alimentary relief of Trajan seated with Italia and two children before him, all on a platform.

To return to the anaglyphs, the alimentary relief is clearly connected with Trajan's invention by the correspondence between its central group and the reverse types of coins commemorating the *alimenta*. The central group on the relief consists of a platform on which a bare-headed and togate figure sits on a curule chair with claw feet and a cloth thrown over it. He faces towards the observer's left and his feet rest on a footstool. Above his left shoulder (observer's right) is an attachment presumably for a raised arm. While there seems to be no trace of a scepter, either of stone or of bronze, the pose strongly suggests that one was shown, perhaps descending behind his shoulder. He stretches his right hand towards a group on the platform. This consists of a female figure who holds on her left arm (observer's right) a child and what remains of his figure suggests that he stretched his hand towards the emperor's. The lady rested her right hand on the head of a child who stood on the edge of the platform, though not enough remains to suggest any gesture.

Certain sestertii of Trajan show on the reverse a very similar group.<sup>73</sup> Trajan, bare-headed and togate, sits facing to the observer's left on a backless curule chair with claw feet and a cloth cover. His feet are on a footstool and his left hand is upraised and supported on a scepter, visible behind his back but then descending behind the chair. On some coins, the scepter is topped with an eagle. Before him stands on the observer's left the group of the woman with a child on her left arm and her right hand on the head of another. The chief difference in pose from the relief is that Trajan's outstretched right hand reaches towards the lower portion of the child, who, in turn, is reaching towards Trajan's shoulders. The coins show only a ground line, not a platform. In the exergue of the coins is the legend *Alim. Ital.* Despite minor differences of pose, the resemblance between the coins and the group on the relief is so striking that both must refer to the same event, attested on the coins as the *alimenta*.

These sestertii belong to a long series which are dated on the obverse simply with *tr. p. cos. V*, that is, between the beginning of the fifth consulship on Jan. 1, 103 A.D. and the designation for the sixth in the second half of 111.<sup>74</sup> The bronze coins of this series have uniformly on the reverse around the edge the legend *S.P.Q.R. Optimo Principi* and in the field *S.C.*<sup>75</sup> On the gold and

<sup>73</sup> *BMC* III pl. 33 no. 2 = 184 no. 871; compare nos. 870-873 and two dupondii, p. 194 no. \* and 202 no. †, not in the Brit. Mus. but cited from Cohen II 19 nos. 19, 18.

<sup>74</sup> For Trajan's consulships, see Liebenam, *Fasti* 107; *BMC* III lii-liii. Imperial designation in the second century probably occurred at the time of designation of the ordinary consuls, July 1 preceding the year of office, see M. Hammond, "The Trib. Day during the Early Empire," *MAAR* 15 (1938) 59 n. 438.

<sup>75</sup> For the *aes*, beginning probably in 104, not 103 A.D., and running into 111, see *BMC* III lxiii, 162.

silver, however, *cos. V p.p.* shifts from the end of the obverse legend to the beginning of the reverse on issues whose types develop out of those where these words are part of the obverse legend. This shift seems to have occurred about 107 A.D.<sup>76</sup> On gold and silver of the later group and on sestertii of corresponding types, topical legends like *Alim. Ital.* begin to appear, probably nearer 111 than 107 A.D. On some aurei of the later group, Trajan is shown standing togate and extending his right hand to a boy and a girl



Sestertius of Trajan, 109/111 A. D.  
Reverse of Trajan seated with Italia  
and two children standing before him.

Aureus of Trajan, 109/111 A. D.  
Reverse of Trajan standing with two  
children before him.

who stand on the same ground line as himself. He appears here to hold a roll in his left and the legend *Alim. Ital.* occurs in the exergue. These coins seem to belong in 109-111 A.D.<sup>77</sup> Finally, sestertii showing a symbolic figure of Annona with a child and also bearing *Alim. Ital.* in the exergue overlap into *cos. V desig. VI* and into *cos. VI*, that is into late 111 and

<sup>76</sup> For the shift in the legend about 107 A.D., see P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts I: Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Traian* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1931) 33-34. This will hereafter be cited as Strack I (*Trai.*) and the second volume, on Hadrian (1933), as II (*Hadr.*). Strack's view is accepted in *BMC* III lviii-lx.

<sup>77</sup> For the aurei of 109/111 A.D., see *BMC* III pl. 15 no. 12 = 82 no. 378.

thereafter.<sup>78</sup> Thus, though the *alimenta* were established as early as 101 A.D., the coinage does not begin to commemorate them until some ten years later, in the period 109/112 A.D.

This delay might be explained in various ways. The institution of the *alimenta*, started in 101 A.D., may have taken some time to complete. An unknown political motive may have led to emphasis on Trajan's generosity a decade after its completion. But a simple explanation would be that a particular event connected with the *alimenta* occurred about 111 A.D. which led to commemoration on the coinage. This event might well have been a public commemoration of Trajan's act, for instance the erection of a statue at Rome either by the senate and Roman people or by the grateful communities of Italy. The statue group, comprising a grateful *Italia* and her children before the enthroned emperor, would have served as the common model for the coinage and for the alimentary relief.<sup>79</sup>

While it would be difficult to show that a lost statue served as a model for any given coin type, an examination of types of the seated emperor on coinage of the first century A.D. strongly suggests that statues were not infrequently used as prototypes. There does not, indeed, appear to exist a comprehensive study of the possible use of statues for this purpose.<sup>80</sup> And a complete examination should cover both standing types of the emperors and standing or seated divinities and should extend into the second and third centuries. Moreover it must be admitted initially that the representation of an idealized scene, in which the emperor is not performing some actual act or associated with other humans but is presented in an august pose and associated with personifications or divinities, does not necessarily require a statue for its prototype. It has been remarked already that the mingling of the emperor and his escort with abstractions or divinities is a marked feature of relief sculpture and coin types of the Flavian and Antonine periods. Thus the type which shows Trajan and two children need not require a statue as its model; it is merely the

<sup>78</sup> For sestertii with Annona and a child in *cos. V*, see *BMC* III pl. 33 no. 1 = 183 no. 869, also 202 no. \*, not in the Brit. Mus. and given from Cohen II 18 no. 8. For those in *cos. V. des. VI*, see p. 203 no. †, from the Vatican; and for those in *cos. VI*, p. 206 no. 973. The type continues after 112 A.D., see pp. lxxx, ciii, 96 nos. 468-473, 206 nos. 973-974, 211 no. 996, 214 no. 1006.

<sup>79</sup> For the personification of Italia, see Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* 106-116, esp. pp. 108-110 for the alimentary types; see above n. 19. She discusses the personifications of cities and countries in pre-Hadrianic art in ch. II, pp. 7-23. For personifications on the Arch of Titus, see above n. 21. The plates in Hamberg, *RomImpArt* afford a good survey of the mingling of human and divine in the art of the Flavians and Antonines.

<sup>80</sup> The present study of types of the seated emperor is based on an examination of the plates and indices to *BMC* I, II, and III; see also above n. 7.

idealized abbreviation of generosity by Trajan to children. Similarly, the type of Annona and the children is purely allegorical. Some more specific indications than allegorization and personification must be found to justify the assumption that the alimentary group in question derived from a statue.<sup>81</sup>

Coin types which show the emperor seated fall into two main classes. In the one he sits on a platform, engaged in such activities as making distributions to citizens, reviewing troops, or receiving embassies of surrendered kings.<sup>82</sup> These certainly represent an attempt to summarize a real event pictorially. In some, indeed, allegorical figures or personifications appear. Coins commemorating gifts to citizens show first statues of Minerva and Liberalitas, then Liberalitas alone as a personification. Under Trajan she even holds what may be an abacus or coin-board to assist in the calculations and under Hadrian she makes the distribution from her cornucopia. In these scenes, however, the emperor is always raised on a platform above the audience and if contact between them is necessary, steps of access are shown.

The second class shows the emperor seated on a chair which may be curule or have straight legs, and if the latter may sometimes have a back. It normally has a cushion or cloth on the seat. The emperor's feet often rest on a footstool and he usually holds a long scepter in his upraised left hand. Only a ground-line is shown, not a platform, and if other figures appear on the ground line, they are allegorical or personifications. These types, in fact, resemble those of seated gods or abstractions such as Concordia, Salus, Pietas, and the like.

One group in this second class is easily distinguishable, that of the deified emperor. On sestertii issued under Tiberius, in 22/23 A.D., the deified Augustus is shown radiate, togate, and seated on a backless chair.<sup>83</sup> He holds a branch in his right hand and a long scepter in his left. His feet rest on a footstool and in front of him, to the observer's left, is an altar. This type was revived by the Flavians and by Nerva.<sup>84</sup> A dupondius of Caligula

<sup>81</sup> For the type of Galba seated with Clunia personified standing before him, see below n. 117. A variation on this type shows the personification seated and the emperor standing before her; for instance, Trajan standing presents a victory to a seated Roma, *BMC* III pl. 27 no. 4 = 159 no. 757; Hadrian standing is welcomed by a seated Roma, pl. 76, no. 4, 10 = 401 no. 1120 and 404 no. 1139; or by a seated Fortuna, pl. 88 no. 3 = 471 no. 1520.

<sup>82</sup> A selection of types of the emperor seated on a platform and engaged in some purely human scene is given in an appendix, along with a description of reliefs in the Villa Albani representing *alimenta* and a distribution.

<sup>83</sup> Sestertii for Augustus issued by Tiberius, *BMC* I pl. 23 no. 17 = 130 no. 75. The date is that of the dedication of a statue of him, below n. 86.

<sup>84</sup> Titus issued two different "restored" obverse types of the deified Augustus. One, *BMC* II pl. 53 no. = 281 no. 261, closely resembles the type of Tiberius. The other, pl. 53 no. 12 =

shows a somewhat different representation of the deified Augustus.<sup>85</sup> He wears a toga and a laurel wreath and sits on a curule chair without a stool. He holds a branch but no scepter. Mattingly regards the type of Tiberius as certainly modeled on the famous statue which Tiberius and Livia erected to the deified Augustus near the Theater of Marcellus.<sup>86</sup> He thinks that Caligula's coin shows a different statue of the deified Augustus.<sup>87</sup>

Asses of Tiberius in 15-16 A.D. bear on the reverse a female figure veiled and seated on a backless chair with a footstool.<sup>88</sup> She holds a patera in her right hand and a long scepter in her upraised left. Mattingly identified this figure as Livia in the guise of priestess of the deified Augustus. If so, the scepter and footstool are not necessarily superhuman attributes; the patera would be appropriate to a priestess. But this type may rather belong with those which show abstractions with the features of Livia, to be discussed presently.

Certain dupondii of Claudius have on the obverse a head of the deified Augustus and on the reverse *Diva Augusta*, or Livia, whom Claudius



Sestertius of Tiberius, 22/23 A. D.  
Reverse of Divus Augustus seated.

= 281 no. 263, shows Augustus in a curule chair and holding a patera and has no altar. It resembles the type commemorating Tiberius' restoration of the cities of Asia, which Titus also restored, below nn. 101, 103. This second type is also not "restored" from that of Caligula, next n. Perhaps Titus' artists confused the two types issued by Tiberius and referred both to the deified Augustus. In Domitian's "restored" type, *BMC* II pl. 82 no. 6 = 414 no. 4, the chair of Augustus seems to have a back like a throne but in other respects the type resembles that of Tiberius for Augustus. Nerva's type, *BMC* III pl. 8 no. 3 = 29 no. 153, is also a reasonable derivation from Tiberius'.

<sup>85</sup> Dupondius for Augustus, issued by Claudius, *BMC* I pl. 30 no. 7 = 160 no. 90, without exact year.

<sup>86</sup> For the statue of Augustus dedicated by Tiberius and Livia, see *BMC* I cxxxiv, citing Tac., *Ann.* 3. 64.2 under 22 A.D. and *Fasti Praenestini* (= *Verrii*) under Apr. 24, *CIL* I. 1 (ed. 2) p. 236.

<sup>87</sup> For the possibility that Caligula erected a statue to Augustus, see *BMC* I cxlvii.

<sup>88</sup> Asses for Livia (?) issued by Tiberius, *BMC* I pl. 23 no. 14 = 128 no. 65; compare nos. 66-69 and p. cxxxiii. For the patera, compare below n. 108; for types possibly showing abstractions in the guise of Livia, below n. 110. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* 86, denies that the veiled figure with the patera represents Livia personally and suggests that it may be Vesta.

deified.<sup>89</sup> She sits on an ornamental throne, apparently with a back, and with a cushion and footstool. She wears a wreath of ears of corn and also holds ears in her right hand and a long torch, instead of a scepter, in her left. Mattingly suggests that this type perhaps represents the statue which Claudius set up in her honor in the Temple of Augustus.

Galba issued a sestertius which commemorates Livia as *Augusta* but not as *diva*.<sup>90</sup> She is shown seated on a throne with a back and footstool. In her right hand she holds a patera and in her left a tall scepter. Mattingly accepts this as a representation of Livia in superhuman guise and regards the patera as transferred from the worshipper to the person worshipped. He does not suggest that the model was a statue. The type differs considerably from that of Claudius. But Galba was very devoted to the memory of Livia, who had favored him in his youth and even left him a considerable bequest. He may well, therefore, have commemorated her by a new statue, represented on this coin.

The Flavians not only revived Tiberius' types of the deified Augustus but closely and deliberately imitated them in their own commemorative issues.<sup>91</sup> On the reverse of sestertii of 80/81 A.D., Titus represented the deified Vespasian togate, radiate, and seated in some cases on a curule chair, in others on a backless throne.<sup>92</sup> The curule chair is draped, the throne not. Both have footstools. Vespasian extends his right hand with a branch and holds in his upraised left a long scepter which descends behind the chair. The only difference from Tiberius' deified Augustus is the absence of an altar. An aureus of 79-80 A.D. shows a similar type, with a backless chair and without the altar, but here Vespasian holds a Victory in his right hand instead of a branch.<sup>93</sup>

Sestertii issued under Domitian in 81/82 A.D. show the deified Titus radiate and togate, sitting facing left on an elaborate throne with a back, a cover, and

<sup>89</sup> Dupondii for Livia issued by Claudius, *BMC* I pl. 37 no. 7 = 195 no. 224, compare no. 225. See p. clix for the statue of Livia, citing Dio 60. 5.2, where Dio states that Claudius deified her and erected a statue.

<sup>90</sup> Sestertius for Livia issued by Galba, *BMC* I pl. 55 no. 16 = 317 no. 54, compare p. cciv, esp. n. 2. Suetonius, *Galba* 5 2, tells how Tiberius defrauded Galba of the bequest of Livia, see G. W. Mooney, *C. Suet. Tranq. de Vita Caes. Libri VII-VIII* (London etc., Longmans, Green, & Co, 1930) 204-205.

<sup>91</sup> For the "Augustan" propaganda of the Flavians, see *BMC* II xxxviii-xxxix (Vespasian), lxxvii-lxxviii (Titus), and xc (Domitian); also L. Homo, *Vespasien etc.* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1949) 193-194.

<sup>92</sup> Sestertii for Vespasian issued by Titus, *BMC* II pl. 51 nos. 6, 7 = 269 no. 264 and 270 no. 265. The two types of chair may be derived from the two "restored" types of Augustus, above n. 84.

<sup>93</sup> Aureus for Vespasian issued by Titus, *BMC* II pl. 46 no. 19 = 242 no. 107, compare p. lxxiv.

a footstool.<sup>94</sup> He too holds a branch in his extended right hand and in his upraised left a long scepter which descends behind the throne. At his right, the observer's left, is an altar.

Since these Flavian types closely imitate those issued under Tiberius for the deified Augustus, as part of the Flavian propaganda of the revival of the Augustan ideals, they may not represent actual statues. However, it is not unlikely that statues of deified emperors were patterned after that of Augustus and that therefore the deified Vespasian and Titus may have been shown like him as superhuman rulers and bringers of peace. Some statues would be expected in Titus' Temple to Vespasian in the Forum and in Domitian's Temple of the Flavian family.<sup>95</sup>

Trajan, towards the middle of his reign, deified his natural father, Trajan the Elder, and commemorated him with various coin types. Denarii show Trajan the Elder seated on a curule chair and holding a patera in his right hand and a scepter in his left.<sup>96</sup> This might well copy a statue in Trajan's new Forum. It is remarkable that no similar type appears to have been issued for Nerva, whose deification is commemorated only on an aureus which shows an image with a branch and scepter seated in a car drawn by a pair of elephants.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Sestertii for Titus issued by Domitian, *BMC* II pl. 69 nos. 9, 10 = 258 nos. 284, 285.

<sup>95</sup> Mattingly, *BMC* II lxxvi, suggests that Titus' type of Vespasian had as a model a statue of him enthroned as *pacifer*. For the temples of Vespasian and of the Flavian *Gens*, see Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 556, 247. The Temple of Vespasian was completed by Domitian and dedicated to both Vespasian and Titus so that it might well have contained statues of both. The Temple of the Flavian *Gens*, erected by Domitian on the site of the house where he had been born, seems to have been where he buried the ashes of both Vespasian and Titus. There is no evidence for the argument of Lehmann-Hartleben, *BullCom.* 62 (1934) 112-115, that Titus' ashes may first have been placed in the attic of the Arch in the Forum, above the vault with its scene of apotheosis; see the refutation by Kähler, *RE2* VII (13) 386-387.

<sup>96</sup> Denarii for Trajan the Elder issued by Trajan, *BMC* III pl. 17 no. 20 = 101 no. 500 of 112/117 A.D. (see p. 89), compare nos. 501-504. On p. lxxxi, Mattingly suggests that the honor to his father, who is shown with Nerva in pl. 17 no. 18 = 100 no. 498, was part of the megalomania which led Trajan to construct elaborate new buildings and to restore old ones in his own name and finally to undertake the Parthian campaigns. F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (Oxford *Class. and Phil. Monographs*, Oxford, Ox. Univ. Press, 1948) 191-204 in ch. XII "The Ancient View: Desire for Fame," advances the ingenious but not wholly convincing hypothesis that Trajan suffered from high blood pressure and that this caused megalomania in his later years, to the extent that after 116 A.D., his judgment was seriously warped.

<sup>97</sup> *BMC* III 588 (index III) lists only the type of the biga of elephants and that of Nerva and Trajan the Elder (last n.) as commemorating the deified Nerva. For the biga, on an aureus, pl. 24 no. 12 = 144 no. 706. A quadriga of elephants is shown for the deified Augustus and Claudius. On gold and silver of 18 B.C., Augustus appears standing in a car drawn by two elephants, presumably on the occasion of his Parthian triumph, and this is once reproduced as a statue on an arch. See the refs. in *BMC* I 413 (index IV). The only elephants indexed in II 44 are by themselves. In III 578 some solitary elephants are indexed but, presumably by an oversight, not Nerva's biga given on p. 588. For cars drawn by elephants as features of triumphal and commemorative processions in the Circus, see Lehmann-Hartleben, *BullComm* 62 (1934) 120-121; Ehlers in *RE2* VII (13) 504 lines 53 ff. under "Triumphus."

This, to judge from parallel types, represents the image displayed in the funeral procession in the Circus Maximus. Nerva was the last emperor to be buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus and, though he seems to have been included in the imperial cult so long as it lasted, he may have had no separate temple and cult statue.<sup>98</sup> However, the absence of a seated type suggesting a statue is not conclusive proof that no such cult statue was erected, since among the Julio-Claudians the only one to be deified, Claudius, received an elaborate temple which presumably contained a cult statue. But Nero's coins show merely seated images of Claudius and Augustus carried in a chariot drawn by four elephants.<sup>99</sup>

It cannot be proved that every representation of a deified emperor issued during the period from Tiberius to Trajan and showing him seated with a scepter and a footstool was patterned after a cult statue. However, since such a statue is known to have existed for Augustus, it seems reasonable to assume them for other deified emperors. Certainly, as will be shown below, the survival of statues of emperors in divine guise indicates that, as Pliny's letter suggests, such a form of commemoration was common.<sup>100</sup> If so, it is natural to suppose that such statues served as prototypes for the commemorative coinage.

In the group of coin types which show the emperor seated in a superhuman guise, there are besides those which commemorate the deified emperors a number which must have been issued during the lifetime of the person represented. The earliest and, for the present discussion, the most significant, of these is the type on the reverse of sestertii issued under Tiberius in 22/23 A.D. These commemorate his generous remission of taxes to the cities of Asia after disastrous earthquakes in 17 and 23 A.D.<sup>101</sup> They show Tiberius, laureate and

<sup>98</sup> For Nerva's burial in the Mausoleum of Augustus and his cult, see *RE* IV (7) 149 under "Cocceius 16." The Mausoleum was opened once again for Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, but she was later moved elsewhere, Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 333-335.

<sup>99</sup> Aurei and denarii for Claudius and Augustus in a quadriga drawn by elephants issued under Nero in 55 AD., *BMC* I pl. 38 nos. 4, 5 = 201 nos. 7, 8, see p. clxxii, where the identification seems not certain. Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 120-121 citing Suet., *Vesp.* 9.1, say that the Temple of Claudius on the Caelian, of which the very massive podium survives, was begun by Agrippina, almost wholly dismantled by Nero, and only rebuilt by Vespasian. This might account for the absence of a major cult statue and seated coin types.

<sup>100</sup> For the cult statue of Augustus, above n. 86. For surviving seated statues of emperors in divine guise, below pp. 173-175. For Pliny's gift of a series of statues of emperors to Comum, *Ep.* 10 (*ad Trai.*), 8 (24).

<sup>101</sup> Sestertii with reverse legend *Civitatibus Asiae Restitutis* *BMC* I pl. 23 no. 16 = 129 no. 70, compare nos. 71-73. The scepter hardly shows on the plate but is given in the description. The sestertii of the deified Augustus, above n. 83, have the same obverse and follow directly on the plate and in the text. For the earthquake of 17 A.D., see Tac., *Ann.* 2. 47; Pliny the Elder, *NH* 2. 86 (200). For that of 23 A.D., see Tac. *Ann.* 4. 13.

togate, seated on a curule chair with a cloth cover and a footstool. He holds a patera in his right hand and in his upraised left a long scepter which descends behind the chair. Mattingly comments that "Eckhel observes that Tiberius is here represented as a deity. But he is laureate, not radiate, he is seated on a curule chair, and the patera is not necessarily a divine attribute. Tiberius is represented rather as the civil and religious magistrate of the Roman state."<sup>102</sup> Yet the type closely resembles that of the deified Augustus, which was issued at the same time and which figures next it on Mattingly's plate. In fact, Titus not only "restored" this type of Tiberius but borrowed its general appearance for one of his two "restored" types of the deified Augustus.<sup>103</sup> As Mattingly admits in a note, Tiberius, for all his unwillingness, was regarded by the provincials as a god and this type seems to reflect the gratitude of provincials towards one whose position and power to benefit them raised him above mortal level.



Sestertius of Tiberius, 22/23 A. D.  
Reverse of Tiberius seated, in honor  
of his restitution of the cities of Asia.

A Greek writer, Phlegon, of the time of Hadrian states that the grateful cities of Asia erected a colossal statue of Tiberius, surrounded by statues of the cities themselves, next to the Temple of Aphrodite which was in the Romans' Forum.<sup>104</sup> Presumably he meant the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar. A sculptured marble base, found at Puteoli and now in the Museum of Naples, shows on its four sides representations in high relief of fourteen cities of Asia, each labeled with its name. The main inscription dedicates the monument to Tiberius in his fourth consulship and his thirty-second tribunician power, that is, between July and December in

<sup>102</sup> For Mattingly's discussion, see *BMC* I cxxxiv. In n. 4, he notes that the emperor was a superhuman figure for the provincials but only a "first citizen" at Rome.

<sup>103</sup> For Titus' restoration of the "earthquake" sestertius, *BMC* II pl. 54 no. 10 (obverse) = 285 no. 282. For his "restored" obverses of Augustus, above n. 84.

<sup>104</sup> Phlegon of Tralles mentioned the earthquake and statue in his *Wonders*, extracts from which are preserved in a single ms., *Cod. Pal. Gr.* 398, beginning on p. 216 r. For Phlegon, see Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* III 202; for the ms., Jacoby, *Frag. der Gr. Hist.* IIB 1169. The extract in question is Müller III 621, fr. 42 = Jacoby IIB 1182, fr. XIII. For the location, Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 226-227, without mention of Phlegon.

30 A.D.<sup>105</sup> Cuttings on the top suggest that it bore a standing, not a seated, statue.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless scholars have regarded the monument as modeled on the colossal statue, probably of bronze, erected in Rome. The statues of the cities, here shown in relief on the base, would in the original perhaps have been free standing statues also in bronze. Though the monument of Puteoli was not erected until 30 A.D., after a third earthquake in Asia had added Ephesus to the list of grateful cities, the original was probably erected in 23 A.D.<sup>107</sup> If so, and

<sup>105</sup> For the base from Puteoli, see V. Spinazzola, "La Base figurata di Tiberio," *Atti della R. Accad. d'Arch., Lett. e Belle Arti* (Naples) 32. 2 (1903) 119-153, with three plates which show all four sides. For the dedicatory inscription, see *CIL* X 1624 = Dessau, *ILS* 156 = G. McN. Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, Ox. Univ. Press, ed. 2 1930) 123-125 nos. 95 (inscr.), 96 (coins). The fourteen cities include twelve which were ruined in 17 A.D., Cibyra, ruined in 23, and Ephesus, which Tacitus does not mention and which probably therefore suffered in the period covered by the lost portion of *Ann.* bk. 5 and before the date of dedication, that is, in late 29 or early 30 A.D.; see Spinazzola p. 125 n. 4. Tiberius was *cos. IIII* in 21 and *V* as of Jan. 1, 31; his *tr. p. XXXII* began in late June or on July 1, 30, see Liebenam, *Fasti* 104; *BMC* I cxxviii-cxxix; Hammond, *MAAR* 15 (1938) 25. The dimensions of the base are given by A. Reusch, *Guida ill. del Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (Naples, Richter, 1908) 22 no. 82 (6780) as: width across the front 1.70 m. (5 ft. 7 in., but Spinazzola, p. 123, gives 1.75 m.); lateral depth 1.30 m. (4 ft. 3 in.); and average height 1.22 m. (3 ft. 10 in.). The *Guida* gives the date of discovery as 1793; Spinazzola, pp. 126-128, as Dec., 1693. For further bibliography up to 1908, see *Guida* 24. Spinazzola, pp. 126-128, studies the relation of this copy of 30 A.D. to the original statue at Rome, presumably shown on the sestertii of 22/23. A parallel to the reliefs of the cities may be found in a Claudian (?) relief of three cities of Etruria, one seated and two standing, which Strong, *RomSculp* 96-97 and pl. XXXII, regards as reproducing statue types. Compare also the four grateful cities on the alimentary relief from the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, Strong p. 222 and pl. LXVI; below n. 120, and see generally Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, esp. for these reliefs pp. 12, 21.

<sup>106</sup> On the top of the base are four round holes for clamps near the corners. The channels for running in lead of the two towards the front (the long side with the inscription) run out the short sides. Those of the rear holes run to the back (the other long side). Spinazzola, p. 124, says that the holes define a rectangle 1.58 m. (5 ft. 2 in.) by 0.66 m. (2 ft. 2 in.). In the center of the top is an area slightly depressed below the finished surface and left rough. It is rectangular but the edges are carelessly drawn. Spinazzola gives its dimensions as 0.56 m. (1 ft. 10 in.) by 0.40 m. (1 ft. 4 in.). In this area are two cuttings running parallel to the short sides, that is from front to rear. Jahn suggested that the holes at the corners served to hold a wide cornice presumably reaching up to the central area. If so, this area would have served for the inset base of a standing statue, perhaps of bronze with supports running down from the feet into the parallel cuttings. For such an arrangement, however, it would seem unnecessary to have cut away the central surface. If a stone base were set in, the surface may have been cut down to permit close contact at the edges or to give a grip for cement. In this case, channels from the parallel cuttings would be expected for running in lead. In any case, if the present top surface represents the original arrangement, the cuttings do not lend themselves to a seated statue. It is possible that the four corner holes originally served to hold the rectangular base of a seated state and that later (perhaps when the community restored the monument, see next n.) this was removed and a standing statue substituted in the center.

<sup>107</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 4. 14, states that in 23 A.D. the cities of Asia decreed a temple to Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate for which Tiberius gave permission. In 26, since the cities were still

if the colossal statue at Rome was seated, not standing as seems indicated for the smaller one at Puteoli, it may be regarded as the prototype for the sestertii which commemorate the restoration of the cities. The statue may have combined the superhuman attributes of scepter and footstool with the more human ones of a patera and of a laurel wreath instead of a radiate diadem.<sup>108</sup> Tiberius was still alive and notoriously averse to excessive or divine honors.

Other types representing living imperial personages in superhuman guise are less easy to connect with statues than are the sestertii of Tiberius. On a denarius of 29/27 B.C. Octavian is shown on a curule chair holding a Victory.<sup>109</sup> This type might be placed among representations of real events if, as Mattingly holds, it commemorates the grant to Octavian of the tribunician power in 30 B.C.

Mattingly regards as likenesses of Livia reverses of coins issued under Augustus which show a seated Ceres and of others issued under Tiberius with a seated Pax or Pietas.<sup>110</sup> In all of these, the figure holds a tall scepter. The Augustan coins show a chair with a low back and a footstool.<sup>111</sup> On the Tiberian coins, Pax sits on a chair with a low back but, apparently, without a footstool. The description of the type showing Pietas does not mention a footstool but the plate seems to indicate one. The type of Pietas is very similar

vying for the honor of having the temple, the senate, under the presidency of Tiberius, heard their claims and made the award to Smyrna. Spinazzola (above n. 105), pp. 134-135, argued that the original design of the relief may have been altered to include Ephesus at the last moment, when that city added a statue to the group at Rome. On p. 124, he argues that the monument at Puteoli was voted by the *Augustales* in 30 A.D. but took some time to complete. The last two lines of the inscription, in somewhat different lettering from the rest, indicate that it was later restored by the city of Puteoli, see also pp. 134, 136.

<sup>108</sup> The patera may be an attribute of the worshipper or of the divinity, see Mattingly in *BMC* I cxxxiv, cciv n. 2: Luschei in *RE* Suppl. 7. 1030 under "Phiale."

<sup>109</sup> Denarius of Octavian, *BMC* I pl. 15 no. 16 = 104 no. 637, compare the plated coin on p. 5 note \* and see p. cxxiv for the connection with the grant of *trib. pot.* in 29 B.C. See, however, H. Last, "On the *Tribunicia Potestas* of Augustus," *Rendiconti dello Ist. Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, classe di Lett. 84 (1951) 93-110, for the possibility that the *trib. pot.* mentioned by Dio, 51. 19.6, under 30 B.C. was an offer not accepted by Octavian.

<sup>110</sup> Livia as Ceres on aurei and denarii of 11/13 A.D., *BMC* I pl. 14 nos. 8, 9 = 91 nos. 544, 555, see also no. 546. Livia as Pax on undated aurei of Tiberius, pl. 22 nos. 20-26, pl. 23 nos. 1-9 = 124-127, various of nos. 30-60. Livia as a priestess or as Pietas on undated dupondii of Tiberius, pl. 26 no. 3 = 141 no. 151, compare nos. 152-154. See pp. cxxxii, cxxxiii, cxxxv-cxxxvi, and cxi for a discussion of these types as representing Livia, and for Livia perhaps as priestess of Augustus, above n. 88. The aureus of Tiberius showing Livia as Pax was restored by Trajan, *BMC* III pl. 23 no. 22 = 144 no. 6.

<sup>111</sup> Two Roman marble chairs preserved in Rome as episcopal thrones, one in S. Pietro in Vincoli and one in the cloister of S. Giovanni in Laterano, have low curved backs and footstools cut in one piece with the base. A similar throne of Pope Gregory in S. Gregorio Magno lacks the footstool. These chairs, being marble, have solid supports on either side instead of the four separate legs of the coin types.

to that on asses of 15/16 A.D. which, as has been said, Mattingly thought showed Livia as priestess of Augustus. Mattingly's assimilation of these figures to Livia is not accepted by Sutherland.<sup>112</sup> And even if the personifications do have Livia's features, this may have simply been flattery of her and not a positive attempt to identify her with them. In any case, statues showing Livia in the guise of these personifications can hardly be assumed as prototypes.

Two comparable later types may be mentioned out of chronological sequence since they follow the pattern of the coins just discussed. Domitian issued sestertii in honor of his wife Domitia, probably early in his reign before he separated from her.<sup>113</sup> They show on the reverse a female figure draped and veiled and seated on a throne with a back and a low footstool. In some types, she holds a scepter in her left hand, but this is not raised, and her arm is bent along her side with the elbow either against or on the back of the throne. A child stands at her right knee and the legend *Divi Caesar* (or *Caesaris*) *Matri* indicates that this is the son who, born in 73 A.D., died early. Mattingly thinks that these types represent Domitia as Pietas Augusta and not simply as herself. The second comparable type is that of a denarius which shows Matidia, niece of Trajan, veiled and draped and seated on a backless chair, apparently with a footstool.<sup>114</sup> Before her are two children. Mattingly thinks that she too is represented as Pietas. Certainly there is no reason to assume that any statue existed as prototype for these coins.

Sestertii of Claudius which commemorate his father, Nero Drusus, show Claudius himself bare-headed and togate, sitting on a curule chair and holding out a branch of peace in his right hand.<sup>115</sup> His left hand rests on his lap. Around the chair are scattered pieces of armor and arms. Mattingly suggests that Claudius is here shown sharing the military honors of his father. Some sestertii of Titus are comparable, for they show him bare-headed and togate, sitting on a curule chair and stretching out a branch in his right hand.<sup>116</sup> In his left he holds a roll and around the chair are piled arms and armor.

<sup>112</sup> Sutherland, *Coinage in Rom. Imp. Policy* 84-85 in n. 8, doubts Mattingly's view (above n. 110) that the personifications on the coins represent Livia.

<sup>113</sup> Sestertii for Domitia, *BMC* II pl. 82 no. 3 = 413 no. 501, compare no. 502, where no scepter is visible, and the cast shown in pl. 82 no. 5 = 414 note \*, perhaps an as. For the date and character of these types, see p. xcvi, where Mattingly compares certain standing types which he regards as Domitia in the guise of Concordia Augusta and Ceres.

<sup>114</sup> Reverse of Matidia on a denarius of 112/113 AD. issued for Marciana, sister of Trajan, *BMC* III pl. 18 no. 7 = 192 no. 208, see pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii.

<sup>115</sup> Sestertii for Drusus issued under Claudius, *BMC* I pl. 35 no. 7 = 186 no. 157 and pl. 36 no. 8 = 192 no. 208, see p. clviii, particularly n. 3 for the identification of the seated figure as Claudius.

<sup>116</sup> Sestertii of Titus with an obverse of the Colosseum and a reverse of Titus seated on a pile of arms, *BMC* II pl. 50 no. 2 = 262 no. 190, see p. lxxvi. A sestertius of Trajan, not in the Brit. Mus. but cited from Naples, *BMC* III 216 no. \* (no plate), shows on the reverse a simple heap of arms and armor.

Under the Flavians, indeed, types of the seated emperor are common. Vespasian permitted the memory of Galba to be revived in 70/71 A.D. by a sestertius which suggests the alimentary type of Trajan. Galba sits on a draped throne with a back, holding in his crooked left arm a short scepter.<sup>117</sup> Before him stands a draped female figure who holds a cornucopia in her left hand and offers the palladium to Galba with her right. Mattingly interprets this type as the Spanish city of Clunia, where a priestess had prophesied Galba's rule, offering him the empire on behalf of Spain in general.

Denarii issued under Vespasian and Titus in 73 and 74 A.D. show Vespasian, or perhaps in some cases Titus, seated on a backless chair with a cushion but without a footstool.<sup>118</sup> The figure holds a scepter in his right hand and extends a branch with his left. Mattingly regards this type as a direct imitation of the aurei of Tiberius which show Livia as Pax, and therefore as making Vespasian or Titus themselves the peace-bringers.

Denarii with obverses of Vespasian, beginning in 69/70 A.D., show Titus and Domitian togate and seated side by side on curule chairs and holding branches.<sup>119</sup> The legend shows that they are represented as *principes iuventutis*, leaders of the organized youths of noble families. Despite the absence of a

<sup>117</sup> Sestertius of Galba and Clunia, *BMC* I pl. 58 no. 9 = 356 no. 254, compare no. 252 through no. \* on p. 357. The reverse legend is *Hispania Clunia Sul.* and *S.C.* in the exergue. Mattingly, p. ccxvi, cites Suet., *Galba* 9 for the prophecy at Clunia and expands *Sul.* to *Sulpicio*, that is, Galba. Though this coin is included in vol. I under Galba, Mattingly argues on pp. ccxii-ccxiv that all the *aes* coinage of Galba from Lyons, in which this sestertius falls, was issued after Vespasian's victory, to make him appear as Galba's champion in the western provinces, which had supported Galba. For other types of a human and a personification, apart from the alimentary type of Trajan, see those of Hadrian mentioned above in n. 81, and compare Lehmann-Hartleben, *Bull-Comm* 62 (1934) 104-105.

<sup>118</sup> Denarius showing Vespasian as *pacifer*, *BMC* II pl. 3 no. 3 = 19 no. 98 and pl. 4 n. 2 = 25 no. 136. On the former of 73 A.D., the reverse legend reads *pontif. maxim.*, on the latter, in 74, it reads *pon. max. tr. p. cos. V.* A denarius of Titus in 73 has the same type and legend as the contemporary ones of Vespasian, *BMC* II pl. 3 no. 11 = 22 no. 113. But aurei and denarii of the same year with the same obverse of Titus have the reverse legend *pontif. tri. pot.*, pl. 3 no. 10 = 22 no. 114, compare nos. 115-118, pl. 12 no. 1 = 72 no. 366 (Titus, minted at Tarraco in 73), and 28 no. 150 (no plate; Titus, minted at Rome in 74). Mattingly, p. xxxvii, regards this type as an imitation of the Livia=Pax type of Tiberius, above n. 88, and therefore as showing Vespasian and Titus as *paciferi*. Because of the *pontif.* alone on the reverses of Titus, Mattingly thinks that these types represent him, but the plates show no determinable difference between them and the figures on Vespasian's coins. A similar reverse type is reported on a coin, presumably a denarius, of Otho, who sits with a branch and scepter, but Mattingly regards this coin as very doubtful, *BMC* I 366 note (no plate).

<sup>119</sup> Denarii of Titus and Domitian as *princ. iuv.*, *BMC* II pl. 1 no. 14 = 8 no. 45 (Rome), pl. 13 nos. 11, 12, 13 = 80 nos. 392, 393, and note on no. 393 (Lyons), and pl. 15 no. 4 = 87 no. (Illyricum); see p. xxxiii and compare the types of the princes on horseback, pl. 13 no. 14 = 80 no. 395 and other examples listed on p. 450 (index III).

platform or other indication of a real scene, these types belong in the category of actual scenes, not idealized ones. The youths are presented in their official capacity, just as they are on contemporary types with the same legend which show them on horseback, obviously leading the march-past of the mounted equestrian youths.

Thus this examination of types of the seated emperor on coinage of the first century A.D indicates that the designers set themselves one of two tasks. On the one hand, they tried to show the emperor engaged in a real activity, though often this was considerably abbreviated and stylized. On the other, they tried to symbolize or idealize some aspect or activity of the emperor. The most obvious class of the second group is that which honors the deified emperor. For these, it seems very likely that in some, if not all, cases a statue served as prototype for the coin. Even where the living emperor is idealized, a statue may sometimes have served as a model, as seems fairly certain in the case of the coin commemorating the generosity of Tiberius to the cities of Asia. A wider and more thorough survey would undoubtedly introduce refinements into these divisions. And cases would appear, like the coin showing Clunia offering the empire to Galba, which combine the real and the idealized. But the conclusion that idealized types on coinage might have statues as models seems justified.

No single element in coin types which show the emperor in super-human guise can guarantee that a statue served for the prototype. In general, while the emperor may be shown on a curule chair or backless throne when he acts simply as a mortal, a backed chair seems to be more closely associated with divinity, as does the footstool, drapery on the seat, and most definitely the long scepter held in an upraised left hand. The figures which have been studied on the coins are, like that on the alimentary relief, togate. Statues to be discussed shortly often show the emperor with these attributes but having the upper portion of his body almost nude. In such cases, the resemblance to statues of the gods is even more marked.

In the coin types which show the emperor as a human engaged in human activities he is, when seated, generally on a platform which raises him above the other human participants. In the types which have been considered, the emperor as somewhat superhuman is generally shown on a simple ground level and if other figures appear, these are personifications who stand on the same level. The absence of a pedestal is not, therefore, any evidence that a statue did not serve as a prototype but simply the convention of types of the superhuman emperor in an idealized scene.

This survey of coin types suggests on the one hand that the main actions on the two reliefs are realistically represented and that, as on the coins, the

emperor, seated or standing on a platform with his attendants, is an actual participant in the scene, the other participants in which stand on the ground before the platform. On the other hand, the coin type of Trajan faced by the personification of Italia and her children on the same level suggests that the group on the alimentary relief is an idealization of a real event. Had the artist meant to show Trajan actually helping mothers and children, he would have placed them, or a few representatives, on a lower level and not shown Trajan with the superhuman trappings of majesty. The proposal of Seston that the artist simply intruded an imaginary idealization into the otherwise realistic scene is less convincing than that he used an actual statue group to give his scene meaning. This feeling that a statue group served as prototype for both coin and relief receives confirmation from the strong likelihood that other types of the emperor seated in superhuman guise, whether of deified emperors or of Tiberius and the cities of Asia, often had statues for prototypes.

Further confirmation of the view that the alimentary relief does not commemorate the actual institution of the *alimenta* by Trajan but some later event connected with it, so that it itself appears in idealized form as a statue group, may be derived from another relief in which the institution is directly represented. This relief is one of those flanking the passage of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.<sup>120</sup> The dedicatory inscription of this arch is dated by Trajan's titles to the fall of 114 A.D. Scholars have debated whether this represents the date of the completion of the arch or that of its original voting by the senate. Some have felt that the prominence given to Hadrian in certain of the reliefs shows propaganda in his favor after the uncertainties concerning his claim to the succession and would therefore place the completion of the arch early in his reign, after 117 A.D.<sup>121</sup> The precise date is immaterial to the present discussion since at least the reliefs of the arch were executed some time within the period 110-120 A.D., the limits which the coin types commemorating the *alimenta* and the destruction of records suggest for the anaglyphs. The reliefs of the arch show the mingling of human figures with divinities or

<sup>120</sup> For the reliefs from the passage of the Arch at Beneventum, Strong, *Rom.Sculp* 221-222 and pl. LXVI, following the interpretations of Petersen and von Domaszewski. See also Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* 14-22, with particular attention to personifications and the "allegorical method."

<sup>121</sup> The inscription from the arch is *CIL* IX 1558 = Dessau, *ILS* 296; for the date see Hamberg, *Rom.Imp.Art.* 65, 67-71, who accepts this as the date of completion. He does not discuss the reliefs of the passage. For the view that the monument was not completed until after Trajan's death, see G. A. S. Snijder, "Der Trajansbogen in Benevent," *JDAI* 41 (1926) 94-128, especially 110-11, 126-128. For the uncertainties surrounding Hadrian's adoption, Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* 34-38; Strack, *Untersuchungen I (Trai.)* 230-232 for the one aureus of Hadrian as Caesar.

personifications which is characteristic of the Flavian and Antonine period. Moreover, they have the same direct realism as do the anaglyphs. This is particularly true of the two reliefs in the passage which, Mrs. Strong feels, were meant to appeal especially to the people of Beneventum. One shows the sacrifices performed when Trajan passed through Beneventum, perhaps by his new road, the *Via Traiana*, to Brindisi. The other represents the institution of the *alimenta* for the cities of Italy.

The cities themselves are represented by four female figures with mural crowns. The one to the observer's right carries a child in her arms. At the same time, the group of abstractions is interrupted by an actual father who carries a child on his shoulder and another moves away towards the right margin carrying his child. Two further children stand between the fathers and in front of the group of cities. The whole group of beneficiaries, both personified cities and real fathers with children, is separated by a table from a group of three figures. Behind the table and shown in three-quarters back view is a figure with a fringed cloak. Behind him, to the left, stands a now headless figure, presumably Trajan himself, three-quarters front and in undress field uniform of short tunic and cloak. The last figure to the left is again an attendant or lictor in a fringed cloak. The realism of this scene and the fact that the emperor enters intimately into the action contrasts with the remoteness from the action of the group on the platform in the alimentary relief from the Forum. The contrast between these two representations of the same event, corresponding to the contrast on coin types between real and idealized scenes, suggests strongly that the group on the alimentary relief, removed as it is from the main action, does not show actual participants in that action but is meant to interpret and explain it.<sup>122</sup>

A similar contrast appears between the coin types commemorating Trajan's institution of the *alimenta*, which are purely idealized, and the type on rare sestertii which commemorate Hadrian's increase of the alimentary funds. The *Life* in the *Augustan History* mentions, as has been said, this increase among the other generous acts with which Hadrian sought to counteract the bad reports concerning his execution of the consulars. It states that he gave an increase of liberality to the boys and girls to whom Trajan also had given alimentary support.<sup>123</sup> On sestertii of 119 A.D., Hadrian, togate, sits on a chair, apparently

<sup>122</sup> For the contrasting representations of the alimentary scene on the anaglyph and the Arch, see Strong, *RomSculp* 222.

<sup>123</sup> SHA, *Hadr.* 7.8 (see above n. 40): *pueris ac puellis, quibus etiam Traianus alimenta detulerat, incrementum liberalitatis adiecit*. Ulpian is cited by *Dig.* 34. 1. 14. 1 for the statement that Hadrian defined the maximum age at which *alimenta* could be received as eighteen years for boys and fourteen for girls. This is given as the rule to be followed when private endowments contained

backless, on a platform.<sup>124</sup> He extends his right hand to a draped female figure who stands on the ground level before the platform but is made tall enough so that her upper part is level with the emperor. This is in contrast to types which



Sestertius of Hadrian, 119 A. D.  
Reverse of Hadrian seated on a platform with Italia and two children standing on the ground before him.

Sestertius of Hadrian, 118 A. D. Reverse of Hadrian seated on a platform with Libertas and an attendant, making a distribution to a citizen who mounts the steps.

show distributions to ordinary citizens, who are always in scale and for whom, if they must approach the emperor, steps to the platform are provided.<sup>125</sup> The lady on Hadrian's type is therefore a personification, like the one on Trajan's.

no specific provision as to the age limit. Actually these limits vary considerably in the surviving records of private endowments, see the articles in *RE* and *DE* cited above in n. 50. Hadrian's rule may be based on his provision for the public *alimenta*. He also moved in the senate to strengthen Nerva's provision that cities might receive inheritances, above n. 53, but this, like Nerva's rule, probably did not refer specifically to bequests for *alimenta*.

<sup>124</sup> For sestertii commemorating Hadrian's *alimenta*, *BMC* III pl. 77 nos. 11, 12 = 409 nos. 1160-1162, dated on p. 406 in 119, see also p. cxx. In the second, the woman has her foot raised on a step, which confirms the view that in these types, a personification is represented in a real scene as a "short-hand" symbol of the actual recipients.

<sup>125</sup> The establishment of the *puellae Faustinianae* by Antoninus in 141 A.D. in memory of his deified wife Faustina the Elder is commemorated on the reverses of aurei with her obverse. The types are purely realistic; parents and children of normal size stand before the platform on which the emperor and other persons are engaged in setting up the fund. See *BMC* IV pl. 8 nos. 3, 4 = 48 nos. 324, 325. For examples on aes, not in the Brit. Mus., compare pp. 235, 245, and for the types see p. lx. Compare the relief from the Villa Albani mentioned below in the appendix.

She holds, as she does on Trajan's types, a child in her left arm and has another beside her on her right (observer's left). This type represents a real event, in so far as Hadrian is shown on a platform and without footstool or scepter. But the recipients of his generosity are idealized by the figure of Italy and her children who had already appeared in the wholly idealized types commemorating Trajan's institution of the *alimenta*. The topical legend in the exergue of Hadrian's sestertii reads *Libertas Restituta* and at first the connection of this with *alimenta* seems slight.<sup>126</sup> However, as has been remarked, Seston aptly compares the connection of liberty with relief from debt in earlier coinage and refers to Pliny the Younger's mention of *libertas* and *securitas* in connection with Trajan's various acts of generosity to the people of Rome.<sup>127</sup> Under the beneficent and paternalistic "new deal" which the Roman empire increasingly came to be, liberty had sunk from freedom from tyranny to freedom from want.

It is relevant to bring into this connection a very fragmentary inscription which was found in the Forum near the supposed site of the equestrian statue of Domitian and which has not yet been fully published.<sup>128</sup> Enough remains to permit the restoration of a concave slab over sixteen feet long and over three feet high with the inscription in five lines, the first two of which contained Trajan's name and imperial titles. In the third, . . . *ote . . . t XVI . . .*, permits the restoration of *tr. potest. XVI*, presumably followed by *imp. VI cos. VI*, giving the date 111 A.D. The fourth line shows that the inscription was dedicated by the Senate and Roman People and the fifth preserves at the left . . . *tis*, with perhaps the right slope of an *A* before. *Liberalitatis* or *libertatis* would be possible restorations and might suggest the connection of the inscription with the establishment of the *alimenta*. Though its length and shape hardly make it suitable for the pedestal of the presumed statue group, this possibility should not be excluded.

<sup>126</sup> Mattingly, *BMC* III clxiv, sees in the legend *Libertas Restituta* a pun on *liberi*, *liber*, and *libertas*. The type of these sestertii does indeed somewhat resemble that of sestertii which commemorate Hadrian's *liberalitates* of this period, *BMC* III pl. 77 nos. 4, 10 = 404 no. 1136 (118 A.D.) and 408 no. 1159 (119/138 A.D.). These latter types have antecedents under Trajan, for instance pl. 27 no. 11 = 162 no. 769 and compare p. 161 no. 767. It should be noticed that the SHA calls Hadrian's increase of the *alimenta* an *incrementum liberalitatis*.

<sup>127</sup> Seston, *MélRome* 44 (1927) 169-170, quotes Pliny, *Pan.* 27. 1 for liberty and security as themes for *congiaria* and *alimenta*. For his discussion of Hadrian's sestertii, see pp. 166-173, and for earlier connections of liberty with relief from financial worry, p. 169. For his view of the connection of the anaglyphs with the enclosure of the statue of Marsyas, ancient symbol of liberty, see pp. 174-179. For earlier connection of liberty and relief from financial worry, see above n. 48.

<sup>128</sup> Lugli describes the inscription in *MonMin* 108 n. 1. He gives the dimensions as 5 m. (16 ft. 5 in.) long and 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) high. The depth of the concavity at the center, from cord to arc, is about 2 ft., that is, the curve is long and fairly shallow. He connects the inscription with the tribunal into which he thinks that Trajan converted the pedestal of the *equus Domitiani*, but a concave front does not seem too probable for a speaker's platform.

To supplement the survey of coin types showing representations of the seated emperor, a few actual statues and reliefs may be cited, without attempting an exhaustive survey. In the main hall of the Villa Albani in Rome there is a much restored relief which represents an emperor on a curule chair, at the observer's left and facing left, on a platform.<sup>129</sup> On the same platform, behind him, are two female figures, presumably abstractions. Helbig identifies this as a scene of a distribution by an Antonine emperor and suggests that the recipients have been lost to the left. The relief would therefore be parallel to, though it does not closely resemble, coin types in which the emperor makes a distribution to citizens in the presence of or helped by Liberalitas.

Under the front porch of the same villa are two statues of seated emperors which have been restored as Tiberius and Augustus.<sup>130</sup> That of "Tiberius" shows him seated on a draped backless chair with a footstool pushed back under the right foot and the left hand raised to hold a long scepter. His cloak falls behind from the left shoulder, leaving the upper body naked, and comes forward over the right thigh. He is therefore represented in an even more divine guise than appears on the coin types of idealized emperors, who are shown togate. The other statue is of "Augustus" seated on an elaborate curule chair. He wears a cuirass and holds a sword and both his arms are low. The representation is therefore of the emperor in a purely human capacity. Helbig does not discuss either of these statues in his catalogue and both may be either modern imitations or so much restored as not to afford valid evidence for the original subjects or poses.

There are three relevant seated statues in the Vatican.<sup>131</sup> Two in the Museo Chiaramonti represent Tiberius. One shows him seated on a

<sup>129</sup> For the Villa Albani relief of Antoninus Pius (?), see the appendix, below pp. 182-183. The guide books to the Villa Albani are: Morcelli, Fea, and Visconti, *La Villa Albani descritta* (Rome, Salviucci, 1869), in which the relief is p. 147 no. 1018, and W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, ed. 3. by W. Amelung, E. Reisch, and F. Weege (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912/13) II, in which the relief is pp. 425-426 no. 1875.

<sup>130</sup> The two seated statues in the Villa Albani are not discussed by Helbig, *Führer* II 398-400, in his discussion of statuary in the porch. See Morcelli *etc.*, *Villa Albani* 10-11 no. 51 and 16-no. 87. They call the first Augustus but the *Guida di Roma* (Milan, Touring Club Italiano, ed. of 1950) 236 no. 61 calls it an unknown emperor of the first century. The head resembles Tiberius. The *Guida* under no. 87 states that on the second statue the head of Augustus is added and not original. A third seated statue in the porch is of a female, usually called Agrippina the Elder but actually an unidentified Julio-Claudian personage. She is shown in purely human guise. Compare the similar seated female in the Museo Capitolino, British School in Rome, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, ed. H. S. Jones) 214 no. 83 and pl. 52, and that in Naples, below n. 136.

<sup>131</sup> For the sculptures of the Vatican, see W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* I & II (Berlin, Reimer, 1903, 1908) and III. 1 by G. Lippold (Berlin & Leipzig, de Gruyter, 1938), and briefly the *Guida del Museo Vaticano di Scultura* (Rome, Vatican, 1924; vol. I of *Musei e Gallerie Pontificie*).

cushioned backless chair without a footstool.<sup>132</sup> He wears an oak-leaf crown and his right hand is upraised to hold a scepter while the left holds a sword in his lap. His robe falls down behind, leaving his upper body naked, and comes forward over his lap. The pose is again borrowed from Jupiter. Restorations do not seem to have altered this statue materially. The other statue shows Tiberius seated on a block, which is a restoration, and without a footstool.<sup>133</sup> He is ungarlanded but again the robe falls down behind and comes forward to cover his lap and legs. His right hand is forward, as if in welcome, and his left, partly raised, has been restored to hold a roll. Though the bare body connects this statue with those of divinities, the general pose is more human than in the other.

The third statue is the famous one of Nerva in the Sala Rotonda.<sup>134</sup> This as at present constituted consists of parts of two distinct and unconnected statues. The bust and upper body of Nerva were found together but have been placed on the lower part of a figure, perhaps a god, seated on a rocky pile. However, the upper part is undoubtedly from a seated statue and the right arm seems correctly restored as raised to hold a scepter. Also the bronze wreath appears to be rightly restored on the head. The left arm is missing but the cloak falls away from the left shoulder to leave the body bare. Thus the pose is clearly superhuman.

The Lateran Museum affords the upper parts of two seated statues, of Tiberius and of Claudius.<sup>135</sup> Both are shown with bodies naked, in the guise

<sup>132</sup> Amelung I 572 no. 400 and plate 60 = *Guida* 179 no. 400 and picture on p. 180. The first statue of Tiberius was found at Veii in 1812 with the heads of Tiberius and Augustus shown beside it. Its height is 2 m. (6 ft. 7 in.).

<sup>133</sup> Amelung I 632-633 no. 494 and pl. 67 = *Guida* 168 no. 494 and picture on p. 169. The second statue of Tiberius was found at Privernum in 1796 and is much restored. Its height is 2.05 m. (6 ft. 9 in.). With it were found part of another seated statue and a bust too small to fit this part. The part is in the Galleria Lapidaria, Amelung I 305 no. 203 and pl. 30. The bust, of Claudius and much restored, is in the Braccio Nuovo, Amelung I 31 no. 18 and pl. 3.

<sup>134</sup> Amelung/Lippold III. 1 132-134 no. 548 and pl. 40 e 46 = *Guida* 22 no. 548 with no picture. The upper half with the bust, which fits, was found in the 17th cent. between St. John Lateran and Sta. Croce, near the wall of Aurelian. The total height of the present combination is 2.44 m. (8 ft. 1 in.), of which the upper portion measures 1.08 m. (3 ft. 7 in.).

<sup>135</sup> For the Lateran statues of Tiberius and Claudius, see O. Benndorf and R. Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateranensischen Museums* (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1867) 126 no. 206, 128 no. 208. For photographs, see P. Arndt, *Griechische und Römische Porträts* (Munich, Bruckmann) nos. 706, 707. The height of the Tiberius is apparently 1.39 m. (4 ft. 7 in.; 0.39 m. in the text must be a misprint, since the heights given for the face and torso total a meter). That of Claudius is 1.50 m. (4 ft. 11 in.). The places of discovery are not given. An ancient torso similar to the Tiberius is in the vestibule of the Casino of the Villa Borghese, P. Arndt and W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Sculpturen* (Munich, Bruckmann) series X p. 3 no. 2710. Helbig, *Führer* II 14 nos. 1167 (435), 1169 (437), briefly describes the statues in the Lateran and suggests that a break in the back of the Claudius indicates that it was seated on a backed throne.

of Jupiter. They wear oak-leaf crowns. Though the arms are missing, they both apparently had the left one raised to hold a long scepter. Since the lower portions are missing, there is no evidence for the seats or footstools.

In the Naples Museum are two large and similar seated statues from Herculaneum, much restored respectively as Augustus and Claudius.<sup>136</sup> Both have the robe of the torso, a backless, straight-legged throne, no footstool, and the left arm raised for a scepter. However the extensive restorations render it uncertain whom they represented, and even whether they were emperors or divinities.

These statues display considerable variety, from the purely human pose of Augustus in the Villa Albani, if this is reliable, or of the Antonine emperor on the relief in the same collection, to the divine poses borrowed from Jupiter for Tiberius, Claudius, and Nerva. Naturally, none of these statues is necessarily to be dated to the lifetime of the emperor represented. Yet in the cases of Tiberius and Claudius, posthumous honors were probably not common. The statues do not afford exact parallels to the coin types which show the seated emperor wearing a toga but with the superhuman attributes of scepter, draped chair, and footstool. The prototypes of the coins, if they were statues, were probably of bronze, not marble. Nevertheless such surviving statues illustrate how prevalent were representations of the emperors in superhuman poses and with divine attributes.

If the conclusion is sound that the alimentary relief and the corresponding coin type had for a prototype a statue group erected in honor of Trajan about 111 A.D., the further question arises of where it stood. The effort of the artist of the reliefs to give a realistic setting for the events represented would suggest that it actually existed in the Forum. If the backgrounds have been correctly regarded as continuous, its location would have been somewhere between the statue of Marsyas and the east end of the Basilica Julia. In this general area, the excavators of the Forum found a large opening in the pavement of the Forum, nearly thirty-nine feet long and over nineteen wide.<sup>137</sup> It was

<sup>136</sup> The statues in the Naples Museum are briefly described by Ruesch, *Guida* (above n. 105) 233 no. 965 (6040), the "Augustus," height 2.15 m. (7 ft. 1 in.), and p. 238 no. 986 (6056) the "Claudius," height 2.22 m. (7 ft. 3 in.). In the same gallery is a purely human seated woman, called "Agrippina" and like those mentioned above in n. 130, except that she has a footstool; see p. 235 no. 977 (6029).

<sup>137</sup> For the space presumed to represent the pedestal of the *equus Domitiani*, see Lugli, *Roma Ant* 159 and *MonMin* 104-110; Platner/Ashby, *TopDict* 201. Lugli in *Roma Ant* follows Platner/Ashby in giving the dimensions of the space as 11.80 m. (38 ft. 9 in.) by 5.90 m. (19 ft. 4 in.) but in *MonMin* 104 he gives 12.30 m. by 6.60 m. and a depth to the concrete of 1.50 m. (4 ft. 11 in.). This is 1 ft. 8 in. longer and 2 ft. 8 in. wider than the earlier dimensions. The concrete foundations are said to continue under the edges of the paving, so that the larger area may be that of the total foundation, the smaller of the opening in the paving. The precise dimen-

filled with casual earth and at a depth of five feet contained a concrete foundation in which were three travertine blocks with holes for supports. The conclusion seems reasonable that this was the base for the pedestal of the great equestrian statue erected to Domitian about 90 A.D. and described by Statius in the first poem of his *Silvae*. It is also reasonable to assume that the statue itself was destroyed, with other memorials of Domitian, on his assassination in 96 A.D. But the fact that the area was found unpaved suggests that the pedestal remained in place until the late Empire or early Middle Ages so that when its stones were removed for other use there was no longer any need to surface the area.

Lugli thought that Trajan converted the pedestal into a speakers' platform and connected with this the fragmentary inscription already discussed.<sup>138</sup> The pedestal itself would appear far too large for the statue group commemorating the *alimenta* since there is no reason to suppose that this was on the colossal scale of the *equus Domitiani*; had it been so and had it survived into the late Empire, some mention of it might reasonably be expected either in the scanty historical works or in the guide books to Rome. Possibly the statue was erected on some part of this pedestal. But it may equally well have stood somewhere nearby. It seems less likely that the sculptor deliberately transferred it into his scene to give this meaning, even though, as has been remarked above, he may have transferred to the Forum from the Forum of Trajan the burning of the records of tax indebtedness. The question of the size and location of the statue group must therefore be left unanswered.

sions are immaterial for the present discussion. Besides the three blocks spaced to take the supports for three feet of the statue, a fourth block was found more deeply buried in the east end of the concrete. This had a hollow in it and a stone cover and contained some remains of bones and objects which may have been the contents of a tomb disturbed when the foundations were laid or may represent some apotropaeic foundation sacrifice. Statius' description, lines 1 and 58, suggests a considerable pedestal through which the supports for the legs were carried down to the travertine foundation. The statue faced east and the right fore-foot was raised to rest on the head of a recumbent statue of the Rhine. It must have been four to six times life size. The date of erection fell between Domitian's double triumph in 89 and the publication of the first book of the *Silvae* in 91, see F. Vollmer's ed. (Leipzig, Teubner, 1898) 4-5; Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* II (ed. 4) 542. For the death of Domitian and the destruction of monuments, see Suet. *Dom.* 17. 3, 23. 1.

<sup>138</sup> For Lugli's view the pedestal of the *equus* became the *tribunal Traiani*, see *MonMin* 107-110; for the inscription, p. 108 n. 1 and above p. 46. To modern taste, a concave side or end to a pedestal (or platform), suitable for the inscription, seems unlikely and I know of no ancient example, though such may well exist. Apparently no thorough study of the central area of the Forum has been made to analyze the possible meaning of the various spaces and cuttings. Nor can it be certain how much the excavators disturbed or overlooked in clearing it out. It may be noted that the alimentary relief shows no platform in this area in the Forum unless the sculptor very much reduced the pedestal of the *equus* to serve for his statue group. The scale of the figures on the pedestal is the same as of the other persons shown but this does not mean that in fact the statue group may not have been more than life-size, since the sculptor also very much reduced the scale of his buildings.

## CONCLUSION.

The place in which the anaglyphs were discovered can hardly have been their original location. But as yet no satisfactory explanation has been advanced as to what purpose they were meant to serve. The sacrificial animals on one face of each suggest some religious significance. The two backgrounds of the historical reliefs on the other faces seem to afford a continuous representation of the south side of the Forum, carried from one to the other by the repeated group of the fig-tree and the statue of Marsyas. It is thus likely that the reliefs were meant to be seen both at once, perhaps facing the observer on either side of an opening. This close connection of design should indicate a close connection of subject matter. Yet at first sight one seems to commemorate the institution of the alimentary funds and, save for one dubious attribution to Nerva, this was universally hailed by the ancients as a great and generous invention of Trajan. Equally inescapable is the conclusion that the second relief commemorates Hadrian's wholesale burning of records of unpaid taxes. Other references to this act locate it in the Forum of Trajan but perhaps records of debts to the *aerarium* were burnt in the Forum Romanum. The style of the reliefs is not conclusive for a date under Trajan or one under Hadrian, particularly since the *alimenta*, though instituted in 101 A.D., are only commemorated on coins of 109/111 A.D. and the burning of records is commemorated a mere decade later on coins of 119/121 A.D.

As far as the events themselves go, the artist might have meant to show how two different emperors contributed through acts of generosity to reestablishing security and liberty for the Roman citizens. The connection between the two scenes would thus be given mainly by the statue of Marsyas, which would have come to stand not for the ancient liberty of the Republic but simply for freedom from want. However, this simple explanation does not wholly satisfy the demand for unity between the scenes. If Hadrian, agent of the later act, wished to put his generosity into close connection with Trajan's, he should have made the relation clearer. Also, the alimentary relief, in contrast to the debt relief, lacks internal unity. In the debt scene, attention is concentrated by movement from both sides on the pile of records and on the lictor who stoops to set fire to it. The seated figure to the right can hardly have been a center of attention; he served to balance the fig-tree and statue of Marsyas, so that figures at rest at either end framed the movement towards the bonfire.

The alimentary relief, on the contrary, gives a first impression of two activities. In the right half is symbolized the institution of the *alimenta*, to the left both the audience in front and the escort behind concentrate attention on

the speaker, who not only balances the fig-tree and Marsyas but participates actively in the scene. There is, moreover, quite a severe break between the back of the last man in the audience to the left and the group on the pedestal. The artist of the reliefs was, indeed, not a master either of technique or of design. But he could hardly have been so inept as to balance the unified action of the debt relief by showing two distinct actions in the alimentary relief. And a more careful examination of the latter shows that this was not his intention. The four figures to the observer's right, who should be the audience for the establishing of the *alimenta*, are behind the emperor's back. So far as the damaged condition of their heads permits a judgment, they look past the group on the pedestal towards the harangue on the left. Their costume, the overmantle or *paenulus*, and their pose closely connect them with the last four figures in the speaker's audience. In particular, the front left figure of the four to the right duplicates almost exactly the second one in from the center in the front row of the main audience. Thus in fact the unity of attention on the speaker is carried past the central group on the pedestal to the right of the relief. The break in the middle is probably more abrupt now than it would be were the figure of the child standing on the edge of the pedestal fully preserved to intrude into it. The prominence given to the group on the pedestal does indeed interrupt the concentration of interest on the speaker. But this results from the artist's desire to emphasize the significance of the action; just as in the debt relief, interest centers on the lictor and the pile of records rather than on the seated figure.

Mrs. Strong sought to give unity to the alimentary scene by interpreting it as Trajan announcing the institution of the *alimenta* before a statue group commemorating his act.<sup>139</sup> Not only is this an unlikely artistic concept in itself, but it does violence to the chronological sequence of events; the inscriptions show that the *alimenta* were instituted in 101 A.D. and the coins commemorate them with a type resembling this group about ten years later. Seston, as has been said, thought that Hadrian was shown announcing his acts of generosity to the Roman people and that the artist symbolized one of these with an idealized recall of Trajan's institution of the *alimenta*.<sup>140</sup> This view restores the unity of the alimentary relief and connects it closely with the debt relief. It is in the end a matter of subjective judgment whether an artist otherwise so realistic and apparently lacking in real genius would have achieved such a

<sup>139</sup> Strong, *Rom.Sculp* 152-153.

<sup>140</sup> Seston, *MélRome* 44 (1927) 166: he regards the announcement primarily as that of the *congiarium* given by Hadrian and puts the increase of the *alimenta* in a subordinate importance. But the statue group refers the action chiefly to the *alimenta*.

concept. However, a survey of relevant coin types and other sculpture supports the feeling that the artist tried to interpret his scene by introducing a real statue group. Somewhat ineptly, he gave it the central position occupied by the bonfire in the debt relief, yet showed that it did not represent the main action by concentrating attention not on it but on the speaker. The *Life* of Hadrian tells us that, in fact, Hadrian, among his acts of generosity, not only burned the tax records but increased Trajan's alimentary funds.

An objection to this interpretation of the scenes as two acts of Hadrian might be that the artist ought not show the same person twice in scenes whose continuous background suggests that they occurred at the same time. There seems to be no parallel for such a doubling of the chief actor in contemporaneous scenes. Though Trajan reappears on successive reliefs of the Arch at Beneventum, there is there neither contemporaneity of time nor identity of place. In the continuous scenes of the Column of Trajan, the emperor reappears constantly but in fresh events in new places. It may be that the artist of the anaglyphs did not intend the continuity of background to show contemporaneity of time. In this case he might, indeed, have been expected to show events occurring at different times in the same place against exactly the same background. But he may have sought variety by showing different ends of the Forum. Another possible explanation is that the figures on the rostra at the ends are not, as has been assumed throughout this discussion, the emperor himself but the two consuls, supervising on his behalf in the Forum the execution of his benefits so far as they affected specifically the Senate and Roman People. Had there survived a representation of the burning of records in the Forum of Trajan, the emperor himself would appropriately have been shown since the provincials and the *fiscus* were concerned.<sup>14</sup>

Whatever, therefore, may be the ultimate answer to the question of the original location and purpose of the anaglyphs, the realism of the style, the coherence of their composition, and the continuity of the background in the historical reliefs demand that the scenes be both actual and related. This demand is met most satisfactorily if the reliefs represent respectively Hadrian's destruction of tax records and his increase of the alimentary funds. It may be that these

<sup>14</sup> Can the Chatsworth relief be a part of a representation of the burning of records in the forum of Trajan? Compare above n. 10. Its "Hadrianic" style might suggest a more direct and "up-to-date" connection with imperial propaganda than do the older style and less able workmanship of the anaglyphs. The fact that only four (or six?, above n. 45) lictors are shown behind the speaker in the alimentary relief is not conclusive against his being the emperor. To be sure, Titus' triumph on his Arch is led by twelve lictors, but a survey of the appearance of lictors with the emperor, and indeed with other magistrates, in Colini, *Fascio Littorio* 137 ff., shows that there may appear almost any number from one up.

acts were carried out in the Forum Romanum not by Hadrian himself but by the two consuls, who appear in contemporaneous scenes against a continuous background. However, even if the figures on the rostra represent Hadrian himself and even if tax records were burnt only in the Forum of Trajan, Seston's interpretation of the acts as Hadrian's remains the most satisfactory. However his idea that the group on the pedestal in the alimentary scene was a pure idealization harmonizes less well with the general atmosphere of the reliefs than does Mrs. Strong's feeling that an actual statue group is shown. Since statues seem to have served as prototypes for coin types of the emperors in superhuman guise, the coin type of Trajan which commemorates the *alimenta* and which closely resembles the group on the relief supports the view that the model for both was a statue group. The institution of the *alimenta* in 101 A.D. was probably an invention of Trajan, not of Nerva, and was highly praised by contemporaries. About 111 A.D., a grateful Senate and Roman People may well have commemorated their emperor's generosity by dedicating in the Roman Forum, perhaps on or near the pedestal of the *equus Domitiani*, a bronze statue group showing Italia and her children before the seated Trajan.

## APPENDIX

Coin types which show emperors seated on a platform and engaged in a real activity.

All references are to the *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire (BMC)*.

I pl. 3 no. 8 = 16 no. 85. Aureus of 17 B.C. Augustus, seated on a platform, distributes *suffimenta* to citizens for the *Ludi Saeculares*, see p. cv.

I pl. 4 no. 8 = 23 no. 115. Denarius of 13 B.C. Augustus and Agrippa are seated together on a platform as consuls, see p. cvii.

I pl. 10 nos. 15-19 = 77 nos. 443, 446, 447 and 78 nos. 448, 449. Aurei and denarii of 15/12 B.C. Augustus, seated on a platform, receives two soldiers with olive branches, probably on the occasion of the conquest of Rhaetia by Tiberius and Drusus, see p. cxv.

I pl. 12 no. 13 = 84 no. 492. Denarius of 8 B.C. Augustus, seated on a curule chair on a low platform, receives a barbarian who holds out a child, probably on the occasion of the surrender of German hostages, see p. cxvi.

I pl. 42 no. 1 = 225 no. 138. Undated sestertius (57/66 A.D.). Nero sits togate on a backless chair on a platform. On another platform, an attendant in front of statues of Minerva and Libertas gives a token to a citizen to entitle him to receive a distribution. Compare generally the coins on pp. 224-226, and see p. clxxvii.

I pl. 62 no. 15 = 376 no. 49. Sestertius of Vitellius in 69 A.D. commemorating the censorship of L. Vitellius. The censor sits on a platform with citizens or senators before him and is perhaps engaged in a *lectio senatus*, see p. ccxxv.

II pl. 24 no. 12 = 139 no. 629. Sestertius of 72 A.D. Titus sits on a platform with his hand outstretched while an attendant on the ground before him holds out a token to a citizen, who has the fold of his garment formed to receive it. In the background is a statue of Minerva. This commemorates the *congiarium* given in honor of Titus' conquest of Judaea, see p. l.

II pl. 31 no. 9 = 182 no. Sestertius of 70 A.D. Titus and Domitian sit on curule chairs on two platforms, with attendants between. Probably Titus is represented as consul and Domitian as praetor, see p. lvi and compare the type reported on p. 193 note † of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian on curule chairs.

II pl. 78 no. 3 = 392 no. 419. Sestertius of 88/89 A.D. in the series issued for the *Ludi Saeculares*. Domitian, sitting on a backless chair on a platform, welcomes two citizens who carry sacks to receive a distribution of grain. Compare pl. 78 no. 6 = 393 no. 422 and 78 no. 9 = 394 no. 428, and see p. xcvi.

III page 14 no. 87 and page 17 no. 97, without plates. Sestertii of 95/97 A.D. Nerva sits on a curule chair on a high platform while an attendant on the same platform makes a distribution to a citizen below. In the center background are statues of Minerva and Liberalitas. Mattingly, p. xlvii, compares the sestertii of Nero, I pp. 224-226, and of Titus, II, p. 139, for which see above.

III pl. 25 no. 4 = 147 no. 712. Sestertius of 98/99 A.D. Trajan sits on a curule chair on a platform. On a second, lower platform, an officer sits and a citizen stands on the platform before him, while another mounts steps from behind. Liberalitas stands in the background with an abacus. Compare page 161 nos. 767-768 of 103 A.D., with no plate, and see pp. xcv, xcvi. Denis van Berchem, *Les Distributions de Blé et d'Argent à la Plèbe romaine sous l'Empire* (Genève, Georg, 1939), regards these types as commemorations of *congiaria*, pp. 134-137, and discusses the technique of *congiaria* on pp. 166-169. On p. 168 he interprets the object held by Liberalitas not as an abacus but as a board with holes in the surface in which the coins for each individual distribution could rapidly be assembled.

III pl. 19 no. 19 = 115 no. 588. Aureus of 112/117 A.D. Trajan sitting on a backless chair on a platform, receives the surrender of three kings. Compare pl. 20 no. 10 = 120 no. 613 and pl. 42 no. 10 = 222 no. 1043 (sestertius of 116/117 A.D.), and see pp. lxxv, civ.

III pl. 40 no. 8 = 215 no. 1. Sestertius of 114/115 A.D. Trajan, sitting on a platform, receives the surrender of King Parthamasiris. Compare pages 103 no. \* and 218 no. \*, with no plates, and see p. civ.

III pl. 41 nos. 1-4 = 217 nos. 1017-1020. Sestertii of 115/116 A.D. Trajan, sitting on a platform, stretches his hand towards a group of soldiers before him, see pp. civ-cv.

III pl. 43 no. 1 = 223 no. 1046. Sestertius of 116/117 A.D. Trajan, sitting on a high platform, crowns King Parthamaspatas, who stands while Parthia kneels, both on the ground before the platform, see p. cvi.

III pl. 52 nos. 4-7 = 275 no. 291 and 276 nos. 295, 299, 297; pl. 77 nos. 4, 10 = 404 no. 136 and 408 no. 1159; pl. 78 no. 11 = 414 no. 1188. Denarii and sestertii which show Hadrian seated on a platform and making a distribution to a citizen. Other types show an attendant and another citizen, see pl. 77 no. 4 = 404 no. 1136; pl. 78 nos. 12, 13 = 415 nos. 1189, 1193. One type shows Liberalitas herself standing on the platform before the seated Hadrian and pouring from her cornucopia into the fold of a citizen's toga, see pl. 82 no. 2 = 434 no. 1315; pl. 88 no. 8 = 472 no. \*.

In the collection of the Villa Albani is one of a pair of small reliefs and one large relief, which may be compared with the coin types which show distributions. For the catalogues of this collection, see above n. 129. The pair of reliefs are described by Morcelli *etc.*, *Villa Albani* 122 no. 893 and by Helbig, *Führer* II 405-406 nos. 1841/1842. One shows two files of girls proceeding in opposite directions. The other shows a group of girls, from the observer's left, facing right towards a platform. The foremost girl holds out the fold of her garment. On the platform, a female figure makes a distribution from a round box into the fold of the garment. Another female figure stands behind the first on the platform, at the very right of the relief. Helbig identifies the figure making the distribution as Faustina the Younger, wife of Marcus Aurelius, since the features and hair resemble hers. He suggests that the other figure is her daughter Lucilla and that the distribution is the establishment of *alimenta* by Marcus for girls on the occasion of Lucilla's marriage to Lucius Verus in 164 A.D. Antoninus had already established funds for *puellae Faustinae* on the death of his wife Faustina the Elder in 141 A.D. and Marcus was later to set up a third fund on the death of Faustina the Younger in 175 A.D. Helbig suggests that in the relief in question, the two women may be represented in the guise of Ceres and Proserpina. However, the first figure might be the empress and the second, as on the coins, a personification of Liberalitas or Annona. The frieze is small and placed high on the wall of a stair-landing, and is therefore not easy to examine closely.

In the main hall of the Villa Albani is a large and much restored relief, Morcelli *etc.*, *Villa Albani* 147 no. 1018 = Helbig, *Führer* II 425-426 no. 1875. A line drawing may be found in *Monumenti Inediti* IV tav. IV (1844). To the observer's left is a figure, facing left and seated on a draped curule chair with a footstool on a platform. Helbig states that the present head, representing Antoninus Pius, does not belong to the figure. Behind the seated figure stands a female, restored as holding a caduceus. From attachments on the background, Helbig concludes that she originally held a cornucopia. A second figure, also apparently female but without marked attributes, stands at the observer's right. Helbig suggests that the central figure originally represented Liberalitas and that to the right either Rome or Virtue. He further suggests that originally the relief showed the recipients of the liberality on the part now lost to the observer's left of the seated figure. On coins of the first century, discussed above, the emperor making a distribution is often accompanied by statues of Liberalitas and Minerva, but the right figure in the relief has no symbols of Minerva and both figures are rather personifications than representations of statues. In the types of the second century, Liberalitas herself often stands with the seated emperor and in some cases she actually makes the distribution. There is sometimes a second figure on the platform with the seated emperor and standing Liberalitas, whom Mattingly generally regards as an attendant or official. While, therefore, no coin type is exactly similar to this relief of the seated emperor presumably making a distribution to persons now lost to the left and with Liberalitas and another personification standing behind, nevertheless, the relief affords a close parallel to the coin types of the second century listed above.

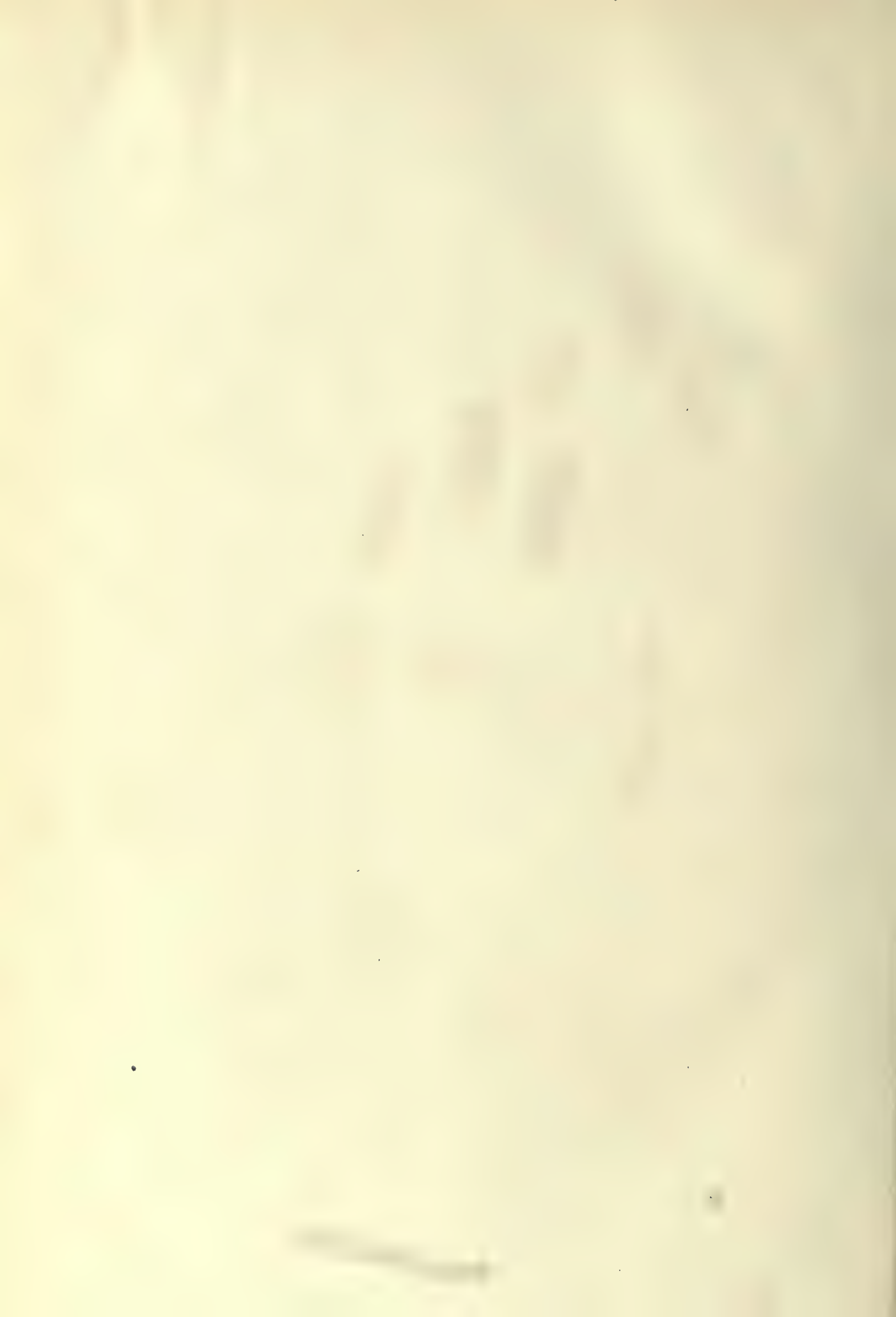
It may further be noted that the platform of the relief shows bosses or studs on its face and despite the extensive restoration some of these seem to be original. Such studs appear on the platform in scenes of liberality on coin types of Antoninus and Marcus and may also be seen on the platforms in some of the reliefs from a monument of Marcus Aurelius now incorporated in the Arch of Constantine, for which see Hamberg, *RomImpArt* pls. 12-15. Some of the coin types of Antoninus and Marcus also show, like the Villa Albani relief, a footstool in the real scene of liberality, see in particular for Antoninus the sestertii in *BMC* IV pl. 40 no. 16 = 272 no. 1688 and pl. 41 nos. 3, 10 = 273 no. 1693, 277 no. 1720. These are clearer than the corresponding gold types, pl. 5 nos. 12, 13, 14 = 33 nos. 216, 219, 218. These indications show that the emperor in the relief was probably either Antoninus or Marcus, even though the head of Antoninus is a modern restoration.















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